RECONSTRUCTING THE FOLK ZOOLOGICAL WORLD OF PAST CULTURES: THE ANIMAL SEMANTIC DOMAIN OF THE PROTOHISTORIC CHEROKEE INDIANS

By

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by

Arlene Fradkin

To Mom and Dad,

Guess what?
I'm **Phinally** Done!

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Folk biological studies of past cultures, of necessity, are dependent upon the interplay of knowledge from various scientific disciplines. Specialists, such as archaeologists, anthropological linguists, zoologists, botanists, ethnologists, ethnohistorians, and geographers, provide important insight into the reconstruction of the folk zoological world of past human populations. Consequently, it is with great appreciation that I acknowledge the contributions of a number of people who have helped with this study.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ae.	active person/number/relational prefix
ag	agentive suffix
am.	ambulative
an.	animate
AS	aspect suffix
ATS	attributive suffix
C	consonant
caus.	causative
char.	characterizer
class.	classificatory verb
CT	composite term
dist.	distributive initial prefix
DN	derived noun
DS	derivative suffix
epen.	epenthesis
G	generic folk biological category
GD	greater differentiation
IM	intermediate folk biological category
immed. past	immediate past
imperf.	imperfective

IN	inflected noun
inan.	inanimate
indic.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
int.	intensive
LD	lesser differentiation
LF	life form folk biological category
lit.	literally
loc.	locative
MS	modal suffix
NR	noun root
ono	onomatopoetic constituent
OTO	one-to-one correspondence
p.	person
perf.	perfective
PL	undetermined type of primary lexeme
pl.	plural
PPL	productive primary lexeme
pres.	present
PT	particle
quot.	quotative
refl.	reflexive prefix
S	specific folk biological category
se.	stative person/number/relational prefix
sg.	singular
SL	secondary lexeme
sp.	an unidentified species of the genus

SPL	simple primary lexeme
spp.	more than one unidentified species of the genus
trans.	translocative initial prefix
UB	unique beginner folk biological category
UD	undetermined morphological constituent(s)
UDN	undetermined type of noun
UN	uninflected noun
UPL	unproductive primary lexeme
V	vowel
VR	verb root
+	morpheme juncture
<	derived from
!	glottal stop
?	analysis of morphological constituent(s) questionable; corresponding western scientific taxon (or taxa) questionable

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

RECONSTRUCTING THE FOLK ZOOLOGICAL WORLD OF PAST CULTURES: THE ANIMAL SEMANTIC DOMAIN OF THE PROTOHISTORIC CHEROKEE INDIANS

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Archaeologists are increasingly recognizing the importance of incorporating folk semantic analyses into their studies of past cultures. While they have acknowledged the value of such an approach, few have actually attempted a project of this magnitude. One major reason is because no comprehensive methodology for conducting folk semantic studies of past human populations has ever been delineated. This study presents such a methodology and demonstrates its application, using the Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern Tennessee, U.S.A., during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a

case study. Linguistic, oral tradition, and early ethnographic/historical data are examined in order to ascertain and delineate the protohistoric Cherokee animal semantic domain, or folk zoological system.

The analysis of this semantic domain is divided into four stages. First, the Cherokee animal names are individually examined for their grammatical and semantic structure and are subsequently described in terms of noun categories, linguistic processes constituting their formation and modification, general semantic patterns, and lexeme types. The second analytical stage entails a detailed perusal of recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts for information pertaining to the significance of animals in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture. Next, the Cherokee animal classifications are reconstructed based upon inferences drawn from the results of the first two analyses; one "general" classification and 15 "special" classifications are delineated. Finally, the Cherokee animal nomenclature and classifications are examined as an alternative means of gaining insight into the significance of animals within the Cherokee culture.

The inferences pertaining to the cultural significance of animals, which have been drawn from the animal nomenclature and classifications, are integrated with information previously derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts.

Together they serve as the basis for generating 10 implications regarding the Cherokee zooarchaeological record.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

> Language is becoming increasingly valuable as a guide to the scientific study of a given culture. . . .
>
> . . . Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. . . . The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. . . .
>
> For the more fundamental problems of the student of human culture, therefore, a knowledge of linguistic mechanisms and historical developments is certain to become more and more important as our analysis of social behavior becomes more refined. From this standpoint we may think of language as the symbolic guide to culture.
>
> Edward Sapir
> (1929:209-210)

The concept of language as a relative index of its associated culture should be of considerable interest to those pursuing the study of past human groups. Since both cultural content and adaptive need play a major role in terminology, a structural analysis of a particular language's vocabulary may therefore help to delineate those categories of importance for its speakers.

During the past two decades, archaeologists have acknowledged the potential importance of incorporating folk semantic analyses into the reconstruction of past human lifeways (see Deetz 1977). Several studies have been conducted. One example is Mary Beaudry's analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglo-American culture through probate inventories (Beaudry 1980). Another study is Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery's examination of sixteenth-century Mexican Zapotec culture through Spanish ethnohistoric documents (Flannery and Marcus 1976; Marcus and Flannery 1978). Nevertheless, such projects are still few in number because no comprehensive methodology for conducting folk semantic studies of past human populations has ever been delineated.

This study demonstrates how folk semantic analyses may be profitably incorporated into archaeological studies of past cultures. More specifically, the objective is to provide archaeologists with a detailed methodology by which a reconstruction of the folk zoological world of past human populations can be accomplished. This approach is applicable to native North American sites of the protohistoric[1] and historical time periods for which adequate linguistic and ethnographic documentation is available and from which the faunal sample is substantial. One such cultural group that fulfills these basic

[1]Protohistoric is defined here as referring to populations who were in contact with peoples that had written languages but who themselves did not have writing.

requirements is the Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern Tennessee, U.S.A., during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, their language and culture are chosen to serve as the subject for the present study. Linguistic, oral tradition, and ethnographic/historical data, previously collected during approximately the time period under consideration, are examined in order to ascertain and delineate the nomenclature and classification(s) of the animal semantic domain of the protohistoric Cherokee Indians and the significance of this system of knowledge within the context of their daily lives. The resultant findings, in turn, serve as the basis for generating implications regarding the Cherokee zooarchaeological record.

This study is divided into nine chapters. The present section focuses upon the research objectives. Chapter 2 provides the setting, introducing the Cherokee language and the early Cherokee environment, particularly its zoogeography. Chapter 3 is a detailed discussion of the methodology, describing the data sources, the recording procedures, and the framework of analysis employed in this study.

Chapters 4 through 8 deal with the presentation and analysis of the Cherokee animal semantic domain, or folk zoological system. This analysis is divided into four stages.

First, the Cherokee animal nomenclature is delineated (Chapter 4). The Cherokee animal names are individually examined for their grammatical and semantic structure and are subsequently described in terms of noun categories, linguistic processes constituting their formation and modification, general semantic patterns, and lexeme types.

The second analytical stage entails a detailed perusal of recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts for information pertaining to the significance of animals in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture. The role of animals in Cherokee daily secular life is presented in Chapter 5. Native animals are discussed in terms of the fishing and hunting methods and implements employed in their procurement as well as the variety of products, food and nonfood, derived from each animal. Old World animals, introduced as a result of European contact, are subsequently examined, particularly regarding their gradual integration into the Cherokee culture and the kinds of uses to which they were put. Methods of preservation and preparation of foods obtained from both native and introduced animals as well as cultural patterns pertaining to their consumption are also delineated. The role of animals in Cherokee ideology and ritual is examined in Chapter 6. A summary discussion of Cherokee beliefs, knowledge, and practices is presented, followed by detailed

descriptions of each animal, native and introduced, in terms of its role(s) within these traditions.

In the third analytical stage, the Cherokee animal classifications are reconstructed based upon inferences drawn from the results of the first two analyses (Chapter 7). One "general" classification and 15 "special" classifications are delineated. The "general" classification, or folk taxonomy, is described in terms of its structure and content and is subsequently compared with that of western science. Then, the "special," or alternative, classificatory arrangements are discussed.

The fourth and final stage of the semantic domain analysis entails examining the Cherokee animal nomenclature and classifications as an alternative means of gaining insight into the significance of animals within the Cherokee culture (Chapter 8). A standard measure of cultural significance is established using the data previously obtained in the second analytical stage. Next, the results from certain major aspects of the nomenclatural analysis--noun categories, linguistic processes in name formation, and general semantic patterns--are examined for information pertaining to cultural significance. Then, the animal classifications are similarly considered. Several major parts of the classificatory analysis--cross-cultural comparison and "special" classifications--are investigated for any possible indications of cultural

significance supplementary to those ascertained in the nomenclature.

In the final chapter of this study (Chapter 9), the inferences pertaining to the cultural significance of animals, which have been drawn from the animal nomenclature and classifications, are integrated with information previously derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts. Together they serve as the basis for generating 10 implications regarding the Cherokee zooarchaeological record. Finally, strategies for additional linguistic/archaeological studies are proposed.

CHAPTER 2
THE SETTING:
THE CHEROKEE LANGUAGE AND ITS EARLY ENVIRONMENTAL CONTEXT

> My ancestors didn't come over on the Mayflower--they met the boat.
>
> Will Rogers
> (Sterling 1979:180)

The Cherokee Language

Genealogical Classification

The Cherokee language belongs to the Iroquoian language family and constitutes the sole member of its southern branch. The northern Iroquoian division, on the other hand, includes six extant languages: those of the original Five Nations of the Iroquois--Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (Chafe 1973:1169); and Tuscarora, a language spoken by a population that moved from eastern North Carolina and joined the Iroquois circa 1715, thereby becoming the Sixth Nation (Chafe 1973:1175; Morgan 1871:151). Today, most northern Iroquoian speakers live in New York State and Canada; there is also an Oneida-speaking population in Wisconsin and a few speakers of Cayuga in Oklahoma. Mohawk, Oneida, and Seneca are each spoken by several thousand individuals; Onondaga, Cayuga,

and Tuscarora, however, are represented by much smaller numbers. Furthermore, most of these native speakers are middle-aged or older (Chafe 1973:1169).

The northern Iroquoian branch also includes a number of languages that have become extinct during the historic period. Several of these were spoken in New York and/or Canada: Huron, or Wyandot (Biggar 1924:307-311; Chafe 1973:1170-1171; Morgan 1871:151-152); "Laurentian," whose vocabulary was recorded by Jacques Cartier (Biggar 1924:80-81,241-246; Chafe 1973:1169-1170); and Susquehannock (or Conestoga, or Andaste), as evidenced by a short word list by Campanius (1696 in Pilling 1888:24). Two other languages were spoken in the vicinity of the Virginia-North Carolina border: Nottoway, whose vocabulary was recorded by J. Wood in 1820 and later by James Tresevant (Gallatin 1836:81-82); and Meherrin, for which information is nonexistent (King 1975:7). Eighteenth-century historical accounts cite several other Iroquoian languages, Erie and Neutral, though no vocabulary lists have been preserved (Hoffman 1959:164,166; Morgan 1871:152).

Cherokee is the most divergent language among the various languages within the Iroquoian family. Nevertheless, its affinity to this family was speculated upon as early as the last half of the eighteenth century (King 1977). David Zeisberger, a missionary/linguist, suggested such a connection in a manuscript written in 1779/80 (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:142). Benjamin Smith

Barton (1976:xlv,xlvii-xlviii), however, provided the first puhlished statement and, in addition, included several vocabulary comparisons. Albert Gallatin (1836:91-92) referred to Barton's opinion and expressed hesitant agreement because conclusive evidence, that is, proof of grammatical correlations, was nonexistent at the time. Other early remarks were recorded in the diary of Major John Norton (Klinck and Talman 1970:46,62,82,85-86), who had travelled through the Cherokee country in 1809-1810 and had noted phonological correspondences, i.e., the ahsence of bilabial stops (Klinck and Talman 1970:85-86), as evidence of a relationship.

More substantive demonstrations, however, were provided during the 1880s. Horatio Hale based his statements upon grammatical (i.e., similarity in verbal person/number/ relational prefixes [Hale 1883:27]) in addition to phonological and lexical correspondences (Hale 1883: 27-28). His conclusions were endorsed and expanded upon several years later by Albert Gatschet (1885b) and J.N.B. Hewitt (1887), both of whom used their own collections to confirm and amplify Hale's work. Consequently, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Iroquoian origin of the Cherokee language was firmly established (Pilling 1888; Powell 1891:77).

During the past few decades, several studies have investigated the nature of the relationships among the various Iroquoian languages. Floyd Lounsbury (1961) has

determined the major branching into the northern and southern (Cherokee) divisions to have taken place approximately 3500 to 3800 years ago based upon glottochronological tests. Furthermore, he suggests an earlier split between the Five Nations and Cherokee, Laurentian, Huron, and Tuscarora. The northern/southern break, however, was of a much greater magnitude and may be ascribed to a southward migration of the Cherokee. Following these two early separations, subsequent divisions eventually took place among the Five Nations (Lounsbury 1961).

Another study deals only with those Iroquoian languages still spoken today and tests their mutual intelligibility by means of a technique that involves tape recordings of texts. The results, at the 75 percent mutual intelligibility level, demonstrate a division into five major subgroups: Cherokee, Tuscarora, Mohawk-Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca-Cayuga (Hickerson, Turner, and Hickerson 1952). One final study attempts to classify both living and extinct Iroquoian languages on the basis of the number of shared cognates in a limited vocabulary sample (Hoffman 1959).

The position of the Iroquoian family within a broader classificatory scheme, i.e., its relationship to other North American Indian languages, also has been examined. It has been suggested that the Iroquoian language group is remotely related to Siouan (Allen 1931; Chafe 1964, 1973;

Morgan 1871:150-151) and Caddoan (Chafe 1973; Latham 1845:44; Sapir 1921:408). Wallace Chafe (1964, 1973) provides the most convincing evidence by demonstrating a number of phonological and morphological correspondences and, as a consequence, subsumes the three groups under the heading Macro-Siouan phylum (Chafe 1973:1189-1199).

Cherokee Dialects

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Cherokee language was comprised of three principal dialects. These corresponded approximately with the major geographical divisions of the Cherokee Nation (King 1975:9, 1979:ix).

The Lower, or Eastern, or **Elati**, dialect was spoken in the towns along the Keowee and Tugaloo, tributary headwaters of the Savannah River, in what is now northwest South Carolina and the adjacent portion of Georgia (Lower towns). The Middle, or **Kituhwa**, dialect was used in the settlements on the Tuckaseegee, Oconaluftee, Nantahala, and upper Little Tennessee Rivers in western North Carolina (Middle towns). The Upper, or Western, or Overhill (or **Otali**), dialect was spoken in most of the towns of eastern Tennessee and upon the Hiwassee and Cheowa Rivers in extreme western North Carolina, and, moreover, during the late 1700s and early 1800s, in northwest Georgia and northeast Alabama (Overhill and Valley towns) (Gilbert

1978:199; Hodge 1911:246; King 1975:9-10, 1979:ix; Mooney 1900a:16-17; Swanton 1952:216-218).

The Lower dialect was the most divergent, characterized by the phoneme /r/, which was replaced by /l/ in the other two dialects (Mooney 1900a:16). Furthermore, vowels in the Upper dialect tended to be somewhat lower (King 1975:21).

Today, the Overhill dialect is spoken by approximately 10,000 people living in the vicinity of Tahlequah in northeast Oklahoma, descendants of those individuals removed in the 1830s from their homeland in the Southeast United States. The Middle dialect is used by about 700 people residing on the Cherokee Indian Reservation (also called the Qualla Reservation or the Qualla Boundary) in western North Carolina (King 1975:10). The Lower dialect has been extinct since the end of the nineteenth century. Its last speaker was seen by James Mooney on the Qualla Reservation in 1888 (Mooney 1900a:17). A fourth dialect, a mixture of Overhill and Middle elements, is spoken today by approximately 350 people in the Snowbird Community near Robbinsville, North Carolina (King 1975:10).

Description of the Cherokee Language

Phonology

The phonemic system of the Overhill Cherokee dialect is used in this study (Table 2-1). This is the dialect that was spoken by those Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern

Table 2-1
Overhill Cherokee Phonemic System

Consonants					
	Bilabial	Apico-Alveolar[a]	Frontal-Alveo-palatal[b]	Dorso-Velar	Glottal
Occlusives					
VL[c]		t		k	'
VD[d]		d		g	
Affricates					
VL			ch		
VD			j		
Fricatives					
Flat VL					h
Flat VD					
Sibilant VL		s			
Sibilant VD					
Resonants					
Nasal VD	m	n			
Lateral VD		l			
Central VD	w		y		

Vowels[e]			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	v	o
Low		a	

Suprasegmentals	
Vowel Length:	.
Pitch Accent:	/

[a]It is uncertain whether the phonemes in this column are apico-alveolar or apico-dental (cf. King 1975:17).

[b]It is uncertain whether the phonemes in this column are frontal-alveopalatal or frontal-palatal (cf. King 1975:17).

[c]VL is an abbreviation for voiceless.

[d]VD is an abbreviation for voiced.

[e]Vowels tend to be slightly lower in the Overhill Cherokee dialect in comparison to those of the Middle Cherokee dialect (King 1975:21).

(based upon information from Feeling 1975)

Tennessee during the time period under consideration, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Overhill Cherokee sound system consists of 14 consonants and 6 vowels (Feeling 1975:ix-x). Cherokee consonants are as follows (Feeling 1975:x):

ch	similar to	church	**chuhga**	'flea'
d	-- [d] [t]	dig, still	**doya**	'beaver'
g	-- [g] [k]	go, skill	**gihli**	'dog'
h		hill	**henilu**	'wood pewee'
j		John	**juhla**	'fox'
k	-- [k^h]	king	**kawonu**	'duck'
l		lack	**lolo**	'cicada/ jar-fly'
m		man	**ujima**	'catbird'
n		no	**nokwsi**	'meadowlark'
s		sing	**sogwili**	'horse'
t	-- [t^h]	too	**tehga**	'frog'
w		well	**wesa**	'cat'
y		yes	**yona**	'bear'
!	glottal stop	oh-oh	**aja!di**	'fish'

Several consonant clusters, or sequences, are common in this dialect: /ts/, /hl/, and /tl/ (Feeling 1975:x). The Cherokee language does not have bilabial stops (/p/ and /b/) or labio-dental fricatives (/f/ and /v/) (King 1975:16; Walker 1975:198), a common characteristic of the Iroquoian language family (Walker 1975:198). The phonemes /w/ and /m/ are the only consonants involving the lips in articulation (Haldeman 1850:425); furthermore, /m/ has a very limited distribution and occurs in only a few native terms (King 1975:16).

Cherokee vowels are as follows (Feeling 1975:ix):

a	similar to	father	**a**ja!di	'fish'
e		echo	**e**lagwa	'snail'
i		pit	**i**nada	'snake'
o		hello	**o**gana	'groundhog/ woodchuck'
u		Buddha	**u**noga	'trout/bass'
v		but	**v**le	'locust'

The vowel /v/ always has a nasal quality; all vowels in final position are nasalized.

The Cherokee language also is characterized by several suprasegmental phonemes: vowel duration (long and short) and pitch accent (King 1975:18). It should be noted, however, that these are not included in the orthography presented here because most of the early transcriptions provide little or no information regarding the nature of these phonemes; consequently, their reconstruction within the vocabulary structure is virtually impossible.

Morphology

Cherokee is a polysynthetic language that is characterized by numerous inflectional and derivational prefixes and suffixes, all of which are accompanied by morphophonemic alternations that may be phonologically or morphologically conditioned (King 1975:34,41). The three principal root classes are verbs (bound morphemes), substantives (free or bound), and particles (free); these are defined by the morpheme classes to which they are attached (King 1975:34). Although a detailed morphological description can be found in Duane King's (1975)

dissertation, the following brief discussion may provide the necessary information for the analytical segmentation of the animal lexicon into morphemic units.

The verb system consists of roots, prefixes, and suffixes. Verb roots provide the basis upon which the Cherokee language is structured; they are bound morphemes and must minimally carry an inflectional person/number/relational prefix (1 of 60 sets known), an aspect suffix (present, imperfect, perfect, imperative, or infinitive), and a modal suffix (e.g., indicative, motion, imperative, or infinitive). Most verbs can optionally add one or more of eight initial prefixes (empirical, conditional, translocative, partitive, distributive, cislocative, iterative, and negative) as well as a reflexive prefix and 1 or more of 10 derivative suffixes (e.g., ambulative, causative, and repetitive) (King 1975:36). A diagrammatic representation of Cherokee verb structure is given in Figure 2-1. Finally, Cherokee has approximately 30 sets of verbs called classificatory verbs in which the form of the root is related to the semantic category of the object (in the case of transitive verbs) or subject (in intransitive verbs). These verbs differentiate among five semantic categories: animate, flexible, rigid, liquid, and solid, or round ("everything else" category) (King 1975:97-106, 1978). Examples found in Cherokee animal names include **-vta-** 'place in fire (solid),' **-gi-** 'pick up (solid),' **-negi-** 'pick up (liquid),' and **-yh-** 'carry (solid).'

± Initial Prefix	+ Person/Number/ Relational Prefix	± Reflexive Prefix

+ Verb Root	± Derivative Suffix	+ Aspect Suffix	+ Modal Suffix

+ = obligatory
± = optional

Figure 2-1
Cherokee Verb Structure
(based upon information from
King 1975)

Substantives are divided into three major categories, according to their respective structure: uninflected, inflected, and derived nouns (Figure 2-2). Uninflected nouns are unmarked and consist solely of a single root morpheme. Inflected nouns require 1 of 10 of the 60 sets of verbal person/number prefixes and, in certain cases (e.g., some animate nouns as well as the plurals of inanimate nouns), also require an initial distributive prefix. Moreover, some roots may have a reflexive prefix. Inflected nouns, however, never carry any suffixes. Derived nouns may be one of two forms: a noun root with a derivational (optional) attributive suffix or a nominalized verb (i.e., theme formation). The latter is formed either by replacing the modal suffix of the verb with the agentive suffix /-i/ or by replacing the aspect suffix and the modal suffix of the verb with the appropriate infinitive aspect suffix and the infinitive modal suffix /-i/, respectively (King 1975:38-40).

Particles are free roots that denote modification of, or relationships between, nouns and/or verbs. They may carry a derivational attributive suffix (King 1975:40). Examples in the present data are **gvhdi** 'with' and **nvhgi** 'four.'

Finally, compounds, or composite terms, may be formed by the combination of two or more noun and/or verb roots and/or stems, thereby constituting a new meaning (King 1975:36).

Uninflected Noun

+ Noun Root

Inflected Noun

± Initial Distributive Prefix	+ Person/Number Prefix	± Reflexive Prefix	+ Noun Root

Derived Noun

+ Noun Root	± Attributive Suffix

or

± Initial Distributive Prefix	+ Person/Number/ Relational Prefix	± Reflexive Prefix	+ Verb Root

± Derivative Suffix	+ Aspect Suffix	+ /-i/ Agentive Suffix
	+ Infinitive Aspect Suffix	+ /-i/ Infinitive Modal Suffix

+ = obligatory
± = optional

Figure 2-2
Cherokee Noun Structure
(based upon information from
King 1975)

Writing system

The Cherokee writing system is based upon a syllahary consisting of 85 symhols. Each of these represents a combination of a consonant-plus-vowel (syllable) with the exception of the consonant /s/ and the six vowels. The syllabary was devised by a monolingual (and at that time illiterate) mixed-blood Cherokee named Sequoyah (or George Gist, or Guess, in English), who borrowed a numher of alphabetic symbols from English and possibly other Indo-European languages (e.g., Greek), altered their shapes, and gave them new phonetic values (King 1975:11-12; Mooney 1891:308; Walker 1975:190). The syllabary was accepted by the Cherokee Nation circa 1821 and subsequently had an immediate effect upon Cherokee development.

Within several years, a large percentage of the population became literate in their native language (Mooney 1900a:110; Walker 1975:193; White 1962:511). Missionaries as well as Cherokee Christians began to transcribe the Scriptures in the new syllabary (Mooney 1891:308, 1900a:111; White 1962:511). Initially, such materials were in manuscript form; in 1827, however, through the efforts of the missionary Samuel Worcester, the Cherokee characters were cast into type, and a national press was estahlished. The following year, the Cherokee Nation was printing a weekly newspaper, The Cherokee Phoenix (1828-1834), which

was bilingual in English and Cherokee. Its successor after the Cherokee Removal was The Cherokee Advocate (1844-1854, 1870-1906), also bilingual, which first appeared in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in 1844 (Chafe 1973:1176; Mooney 1900a:111; White 1962:511). Other works printed in the Cherokee language and syllabary during the 1800s included the following: The Cherokee Messenger (1844-1846), a bimonthly religious periodical; The Cherokee Almanac, an annual; numerous Bible translations; hymn books; sermons; spelling, arithmetic, and other schoolbooks; several editions of the laws of the Cherokee Nation; political pamphlets; and other miscellaneous publications (Chafe 1973:1176; Mooney 1900a:111-112; White 1962:511-512). The syllabary was also used by the more conservative members of the tribe: Cherokee ritual specialists recorded many of the ancient ceremonies and secret knowledge (e.g., sacred formulas) in manuscript form so that such oral traditions might be preserved for posterity (Mooney 1891, 1900a:112; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; White 1962:511).

During the present century, Cherokee language publications have become available through a number of organizations. These organizations include the American Bible Society, Cherokee Phoenix Publications, Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project of the University of Chicago, Laboratory of Anthropology of Wesleyan University, and Original Cherokee Community

Organization (King 1975:14-15; Walker 1975:194; White 1962:512-514).

Today, many young Cherokee learn English rather than Cherokee as their native language; their parents fear that a knowledge of English as only a second language would pose a problem as the children matured and ventured into mainstream (American) society. In the past few years, however, these peoples have been changing their minds and are now requesting Cherokee language courses and materials. Thus, the Cherokee Bilingual Education Program (Feeling 1975; Pulte and Feeling 1975) and the University of Oklahoma Press (Holmes and Smith 1977) have published pedagogical materials on the Cherokee language in order to teach English-speaking Cherokee about their ancestral language and consequently their cultural heritage.

The Cherokee Environment

The Cherokee, often referred to as the mountaineers of the South, claimed, at the time of European contact, an area of approximately 40,000 square miles (103,600 sq km) (Mooney 1900a:14). Their territory included what presently constitutes northern Georgia and Alabama, northwest South Carolina, western North Carolina, Tennessee east of the Tennessee River, Kentucky, and southwest Virginia and West Virginia (Mooney 1900a:plate III). Occupation of such a

vast region, however, was uneven and highly clustered: Although war and long-term hunting expeditions did result in the utilization of various portions of this territory at different times, settlements and principal economic and social activities were concentrated within a relatively small section, or core area (Goodwin 1977:6-7) (Figure 2-3).

Physiography

Cherokee towns were situated within the southern portion of the Appalachian Highlands, the second of eight major physiographic divisions of the United States (Fenneman 1938:121, 1964). This division includes seven provinces (Fenneman 1964; Thornbury 1965:72), of which four --the Piedmont, Blue Ridge, Ridge and Valley, and Appalachian Plateau--encompass the heartland of Cherokee-occupied lands. These provinces are narrow regions that extend in a parallel northeast-southwest direction (Hayes 1899:11).

The Piedmont Province constitutes the southeasternmost extent and is the least mountainous portion of the Appalachian Highlands (Fenneman 1938:123; Thornbury 1965:88). Cherokee Lower towns were situated within this province's Upland section--Piedmont Upland, or Piedmont Plateau--which is a dissected peneplain consisting of eroded Precambrian crystalline rocks underlain by metamorphosed Paleozoic limestone (Butts et al. 1933:1;

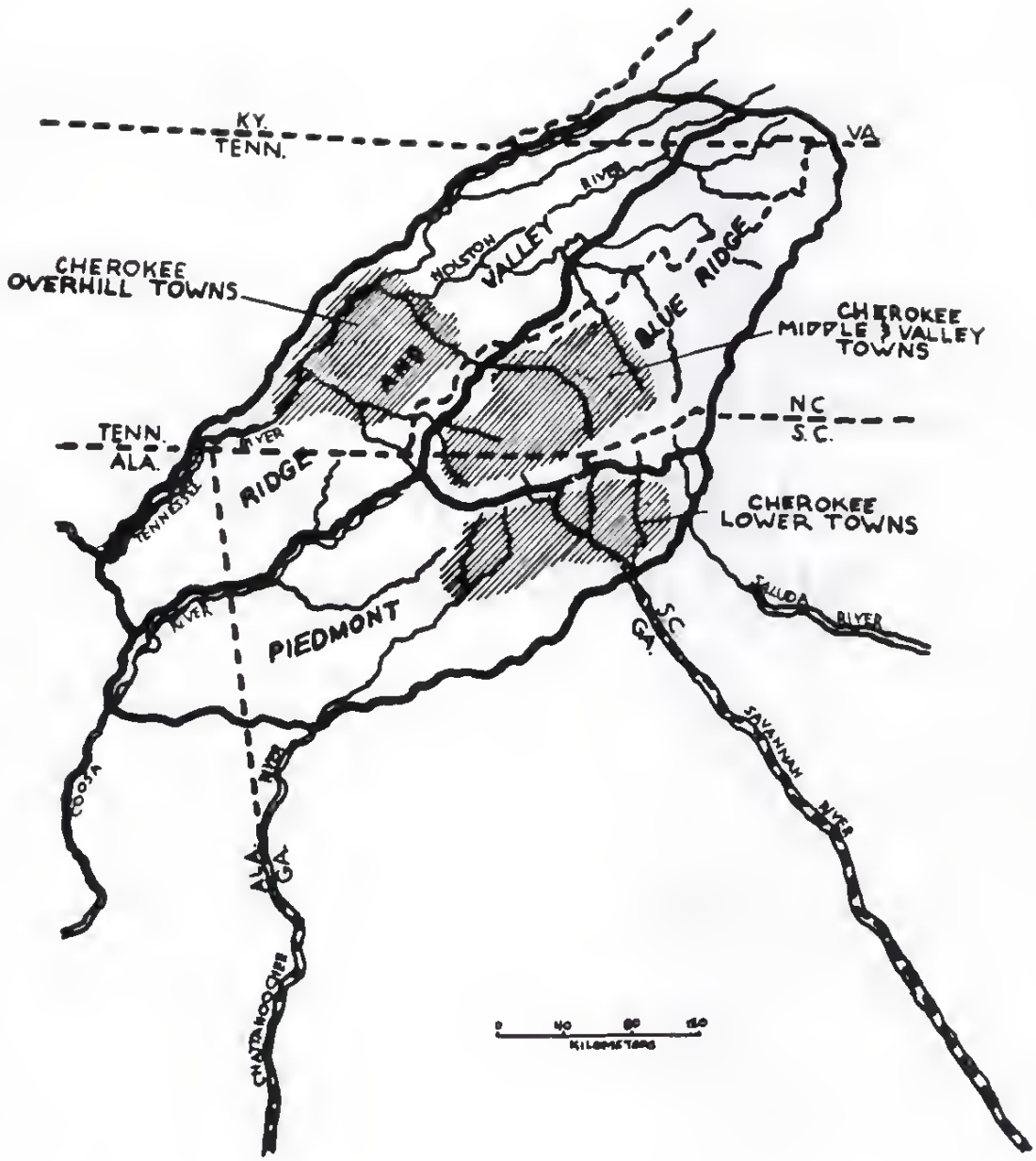

Figure 2-3
Location of Major Cherokee Settlements
at Time of European Contact
(based upon information from Dickens 1979;
Gilbert 1978; Mooney 1900a)

Fenneman 1938:123). Much of its terrain is rolling uplands of moderate relief cut by rather deep and narrow valleys (Fenneman 1938:131). Numerous small mountains and rugged isolated peaks rise as monadnocks, ranging from 100 to 1,000 feet (30-305 m) above the general plateau surface (LaForge et al. 1925:59), and are more abundant near the Blue Ridge (Eardley 1962:96). Major drainage systems include the Savannah, Chattahoochee, Tallapoosa, and Coosa Rivers (LaForge et al. 1925:59).

The Blue Ridge Province, which lies immediately west of the Piedmont, rises in southern Pennsylvania as a narrow belt, approximately 14 miles (23 km) wide, and continues southward, expanding in Tennessee and North Carolina into a broad (maximum width of 70 miles [113 km]) as well as high (exceeding 6,000 feet [1,829 m]) area of massive mountains and towering peaks (Eardley 1962:91; Fenneman 1938:163,171-173; Thornbury 1965:100-103). Cherokee Middle and Valley towns were located in this province's Southern section, a mountainous region composed of folded and faulted Cambrian quartzite and Precambrian metamorphic and igneous rocks (Butts et al. 1933:1; Eardley 1962:91; Fenneman 1938:173). The term "Blue Ridge" is confined to the pronounced frontal scarp along the east side of the mountain chain; parallel ranges to the west are collectively called the Unakas with the Great Smoky Mountains forming their culminating point (Fenneman 1938:173-174; Thornbury 1965:103). The two chains are connected by a series of more or less transverse

ranges and peaks, including Black, Grandfather, and Nantahala Mountains (Braun 1985:195). Distinctive topographic features of the Southern Blue Ridge are coves and balds. The former are isolated, flat-floored, somewhat oval-shaped mountain valleys, approximately 5 to 10 square miles (13-26 sq km) in area (Fenneman 1938:175; Thornbury 1965:103-104) and ranging from 1,200 to 1,800 feet (366-549 m) above sea level (Fenneman 1938:175). Balds are dome-like mountaintops that are composed of grassy summits rather than tree cover (Fenneman 1938:174; Thornbury 1965:104).

The Ridge and Valley Province is west of the Blue Ridge and is a region of alternating parallel and subparallel ridges and valleys (i.e., ridges on resistant rock and valleys on weak strata) composed of folded Paleozoic rock (Butts et al. 1933:1) of 1,000 to 2,000 feet (305-610 m) of local relief (Eardley 1962:95). Cherokee Overhill towns were situated in this province's Tennessee, or Southern, section, an area characterized by numerous faults, a predominance of valleys over ridges, and a prevalent longitudinal drainage system (Thornbury 1965:124). This drainage system refers to the headwaters of the Tennessee River: the Powell, Clinch, Holston, and Nolichucky-French Broad (Fenneman 1938:275; Thornbury 1965:124).

The Appalachian Plateau constitutes the westernmost province of the Appalachian Highlands and includes two major

plateaus, the Allegheny on the north and the Cumberland on the south (Eardley 1962:93). Cherokee towns were not established in this province until the late eighteenth century and were situated within the southern portion of the Cumberland Plateau. The Cumberland Plateau is a dissected plateau of moderate-to-strong relief (Fenneman 1938:337, 1964) underlain by flat-lying strata of sandstone, shale, and basal conglomerates (Eardley 1962:94; Fenneman 1938:284; Thornbury 1965:130) and is higher in elevation than adjacent provinces (Eardley 1962:93; Thornbury 1965:130). In its northern extent, i.e., Kentucky/West Virginia border, the surface of the plateau begins at approximately 1,000 feet (305 m), gradually rising southward reaching a maximum height of 2,000 feet (610 m) near Chattanooga, Tennessee, and then slowly declining to 400 feet (122 m) at its southern edge in central Alabama (Fenneman 1938:335-336; Hayes 1899:12-13). The Cumberland Plateau is divided by the Sequatchie Valley (west) and Wills Creek Valley (east) anticlines (Hayes 1899:12) into three distinctive parts: Lookout Mountain to the east, Cumberland to the west, and Walden Ridge between the two folds (Fenneman 1938:338). Further dissection occurs in northern Alabama where the remnants form a series of small isolated table-mountains, or mesas (Hayes 1899:13). A portion of the Tennessee River crosses the province following alternately longitudinal and transverse courses (Fenneman 1938:339-340).

Throughout the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, a well-defined correlation prevailed between the major Cherokee settlement groups and three of the physiographic provinces: Lower/Piedmont, Middle and Valley/Blue Ridge, and Overhill/Ridge and Valley (Dickens 1979). During and after the American Revolution, however, destruction of their towns as well as increasing white encroachments caused many Cherokee to move southward into northwest Georgia and northeast Alabama (Gilbert 1978:178; Mooney 1900a:54-55), thereby establishing settlements in the southernmost extent of these regions as well as in the Appalachian Plateau, the fourth physiographic province.

Ecology--The Biota

The Southern Appalachian Highlands region has always been noted for its highly diverse as well as abundant floral and faunal communities. Nevertheless, this area has undergone significant modifications during the past 200 years. Therefore, a description of its ecology in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries must be, to a large extent, conjectural.

The following reconstructions of the biota are primarily based upon observations recorded by individuals who had resided in or had visited the Cherokee country and/or its general vicinity (see Chapter 3--Data Sources). Three of these early observers--William Bartram (1853; Harper 1958), Andre Michaux (Thwaites 1904:25-104; Williams

1928:327-342), and Francois Andre Michaux (Thwaites 1904:105-306)--were noted botanists, and their journals are replete with descriptions of the numerous plants they encountered. Although they were probably more concerned with accumulating specimens for their collections and discovering, classifying, and naming new flora rather than with compiling exhaustive species lists, their accounts provide some insight into the major vegetational communities present at that time. Additional information on the flora is derived from present-day surviving remnants of original conditions (Braun 1985; Oosting 1942; Shelford 1963; Whittaker 1956), and, for the fauna, from known western zoological histories of particular species (American Ornithologists' Union [AOU] 1983; Behler and King 1979; Borror et al. 1981; Borror and White 1970; Bull and Farrand 1977; Burt and Grossenheider 1976; Conant 1975; Evermann and Hildebrand 1914; Gentry 1955, 1956; Hall 1981; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979; Huheey and Stupka 1967; Kellogg 1939; King 1939, 1944; Lee et al. 1980; Linzey and Linzey 1971; McClane 1978; National Geographic Society 1983; Peterson 1980; Robbins et al. 1983; Rostlund 1952, 1960; Schorger 1952, 1973; Smith 1978; Smith and Brodie 1982; Whitaker 1980).

Flora

The Piedmont Upland was, at the time of Cherokee occupation, covered by an oak-hickory climax community

(Braun 1985:259; Oosting 1942:89). This consisted of mature hardwood stands dominated by several kinds of oaks --white (Quercus alba Linnaeus), red (Quercus rubra Linnaeus), and black (Quercus velutina Lamarck)--and hickory, particularly mockernut (Carya tomentosa [Poiret] Nuttall). Other trees associated with this climax were elm (Ulmus spp.), red mulberry (Morus rubra Linnaeus), and American ash (Fraxinus americana Linnaeus). The number of species of shrubs and vines was few. Sweet-shrub (Calycanthus floridus Linnaeus), mock-orange (Philadelphus inodorus Linnaeus), and storax (Styrax spp.) as well as yellow jessamine (Gelsemium sempervirens [Linnaeus] William Townsend Aiton) and coral honeysuckle (Lonicera sempervirens Linnaeus) were at higher elevations; grapevines (Vitis spp.) were in the river valleys and surrounding foothills. These last two areas also supported several herbs: strawberry (Fragaria spp.), avens (Geum sp.), Canada burnet (Sanguisorba canadensis Linnaeus), and the highly valued ginseng (Panax quinquefolium Linnaeus).

The mountainous Southern Blue Ridge, due to its topographical diversity and its marked altitudinal range, supported several different kinds of plant communities (Braun 1985:196). The principal types were found at middle and lower elevations (1,300 to 4,500 feet [396-1,372 m]) and included the occurrence of oak-chestnut climax communities over most slopes and rolling uplands (Braun 1985:192,197-199), interspersed by mixed (i.e., dominance shared by a

number of species) mesophytic forests in coves and lower ravine slopes (Braun 1985:192,199-205), and hemlock forests (Tsuga spp.) on broad valley flats (approximately 4,000 feet [1,219 m]) (Braun 1985:205). The typical oak-chestnut forest was dominated by a combination of chestnut, i.e., American chestnut (Castanea dentata [Marshall] Borkhausen), "poplar," or tulip tree (Liriodendron tulipifera Linnaeus), and several kinds of oaks--white (Quercus alba Linnaeus), rock chestnut (Quercus prinus Linnaeus), red (Quercus ruhra Linnaeus), and black (Quercus velutina Lamarck).

Cove hardwood forests were typically mixed mesophytic communities (Braun 1985:199-205; Whittaker 1956:45), which consisted of circa 25 or 30 tree species (Braun 1985:201), including hemlock (Tsuga spp.), umbrella tree (Magnolia fraseri Walter), and Carolina silverbell (Halesia carolina Linnaeus) (Braun 1985:201). The herbaceous layer was extremely variegated, containing toad shade (Trillium sessile Linnaeus), nodding trillium (Trillium cernuum Linnaeus), lily of the valley (Convallaria majalis Linnaeus), dog-tooth violet (Erythronium americanum Ker), bellwort (Uvularia sp.), spreading pogonia (Cleistes divaricata [Linnaeus] Ames), and blue cohosh (Caulophyllum thalictroides [Linnaeus] Andre Michaux).

Certain shrubs were associated with the oak-chestnut and, at times, the mixed mesophytic regions. Most notable were the colorful rhododendron (Rhododendron minus Andre Michaux), flame azalea (Rhododendron calendulaceum [Andre

Michaux] Torrey), and mountain laurel (Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus).

Several additional plant communities were described for other altitudinal zones (Braun 1985:206-212). The higher slopes (approximately 4,500 to 5,000 feet [1,372-1,524 m]) were covered by mixed northern hardwoods (Braun 1985:206,207-209), including cherry birch (Betula lenta Linnaeus), cucumber tree (Magnolia acuminata Linnaeus), mountain maple (Acer spicatum Lamarck), basswood (Tilia spp.), Carolina silverbell (Halesia carolina Linnaeus), and ash (Fraxinus spp.). Such vegetation, in turn, graded into a spruce-fir (Picea rubens Sargent and Abies fraseri [Pursh] Poiret) forest, which covered the mountains' highest slopes and summits (Braun 1985:206,209-212). One final community was noted for the lower Blue Ridge Mountains adjacent to the Piedmont (Braun 1985:206), where white pine (Pinus strobus Linnaeus) and mockernut (Carya tomentosa [Poiret] Nuttall) frequently occurred.

The Southern Ridge and Valley was also composed of several distinct floral communities. Oak-chestnut covered the high ridges, mixed mesophytic occurred in ravines and lower ravine slopes, and white oak forests occupied the valley floors (Braun 1985:226,241). The white oak forest community included hickory (Carya spp.), slippery elm (Ulmus rubra Muhlenberg), redbud (Cercis canadensis Linnaeus), flowering dogwood (Cornus florida Linnaeus), and

ash (Fraxinus spp.), in addition to several species of oak (Quercus spp.) (Braun 1985:237-239).

The vegetation of the Cumberland Plateau was described only in one early (non-botanist) source (Klinck and Talman 1970). Several trees were identified generically, such as walnut (Juglans), hickory (Carya), chestnut (Castanea), oak (Quercus), and elm (Ulmus). According to Braun (1985:35,39), this region once supported a mixed mesophytic forest.

The present vegetational composition and pattern of forest distribution in the Southern Appalachian Highlands differ significantly from that of the time period under study. Over the past two centuries, such activities as clearing land for cultivation and homesteads, lumbering, forest fires, and livestock grazing (Ayres and Ashe 1905: 18-23) have resulted in the destruction of most of the primary plant communities once characteristic of the several physiographic provinces and, subsequently, in the development of secondary forests (Braun 1985; Oosting 1942).

The Piedmont Upland today consists of oak-pine transitional forests with the widespread occurrence and almost universal dominance of pines, particularly loblolly (Pinus taeda Linnaeus), short-leaf (Pinus echinata Miller), and scrub (Pinus virginiana Miller) (Braun 1985:259,262; Oosting 1942). The Southern Blue Ridge no longer supports an oak-chestnut climax community (Braun 1985:192,197): The

original chestnut trees were destroyed by a chestnut blight fungus during the 1920s and 1930s (Shelford 1963:38-39; Whittaker 1956:3-4) and have since been naturally replaced in many sites by oaks (Braun 1985:192; Woods and Shanks 1957:847). Secondary mesophytic communities are restricted to coves and lower ravine slopes (Braun 1985:192). Greatly reduced northern hardwood and spruce-fir forests occur at higher elevations (Braun 1985:206-207; Whittaker 1956:48-49,53-55).

The Southern Ridge and Valley also has been modified. Oak-chestnut forests once occupying the steep-sided ridges of northern Tennessee are now transitional communities with predominantly oak (Braun 1985:228,241); in the Knoxville vicinity and southward, lower ridges, knobs, and valley floors are covered by white oak associations (Braun 1985:226,233,237-239,241) and ravines and lower ravine slopes by mixed mesophytic forests (Braun 1985:226,241); and in the province's most southern part, i.e., northwest Georgia and northeast Alabama, oak-pine forests prevail (Braun 1985:275-276). Finally, the Cumberland Plateau supports a mixed mesophytic community (Braun 1985:35,39).

Table A-1 in Appendix A is a listing of all the native (indigenous) flora present in the Cherokee area during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as recorded in early ethnographic and primary historical accounts.

Fauna

The local native, or indigenous, fauna, like the flora, was exceptionally rich in variety and plenitude. At the time of Cherokee occupation, the total vertebrate animal population consisted of approximately 510 native species.

Fish abounded in the numerous rivers and streams that flowed through the Cherokee area (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:82,213; Klinck and Talman 1970:38-39; Lanman 1849:407,431; United States Senate 1846:14; Williams 1927:52,69, 1928:28, 1930:239). Principal species included the following: "trout," or bass (Micropterus spp.) (Lanman 1849:373,384,393,405,441; United States Senate 1846:14); bullhead catfish (Ictaluridae) (Lanman 1849:384; Walker 1888:44; Williams 1928:171), particularly "yellow cat," or flathead catfish (Pylodictis olivaris [Rafinesque]) (Williams 1928:494); "large minnow," or brook trout (Salvelinus fontinalis [Mitchill]) (Lanman 1849:352); and suckers (Catostomidae) (Lanman 1849:384), particularly "mullet," or redhorse (Moxostoma spp.) (Lanman 1849:384; Walker 1888:44; Williams 1928:171), and "hog-fish," or northern hog sucker (Hypentelium nigricans [Le Sueur]) (Lanman 1849:384). Several other fish have also been mentioned as present: lake sturgeon (Acipenser fulvescens Rafinesque) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Williams 1928:37); "pickerel," or "salmon," i.e., walleye (Stizostedion vitreum [Mitchill]) (Lanman 1849:384); "carp," or carpsucker (Carpiodes spp.) (Walker 1888:44;

Williams 1928:171); "perch," or sunfish (Lepomis spp.) (Walker 1888:44; Williams 1928:171); and shad (Alosa/Dorosoma spp.) (Lanman 1849:373).

Herpetofauna (amphibians and reptiles) was represented by both aquatic and terrestrial species. The former included certain salamanders--hellbender (Cryptobranchus alleganiensis alleganiensis [Daudin]) (Thwaites 1904:289), mudpuppy (Necturus maculosus maculosus [Rafinesque]), dusky salamander (Desmognathus spp.), and spring salamander (Gyrinophilus spp.)--and several snakes (e.g., water snake [Nerodia sp.]), many of which naturally occurred in small, fast-flowing rocky mountain streams. Frogs (Anura) (Louis-Philippe 1977:63; Williams 1928:493) as well as freshwater turtles--common snapping turtle (Chelydra serpentina serpentina [Linnaeus]), musk turtle (Sternotherus spp.), map turtle (Graptemys spp.), and painted/pond slider turtle (Chrysemys spp.)--were found in quiet or slow-moving streams, rivers and lakes (Behler and King 1979; Conant 1975; Huheey and Stupka 1967). Terrestrial forms included the eastern box turtle (Terrapene carolina carolina [Linnaeus]), a few lizard species, e.g., skink (Eumeces sp.) (Lanman 1849:382), and a variety of snakes (Behler and King 1979; Conant 1975; Huheey and Stupka 1967). Of the latter, those most common were the northern black racer (Coluber constrictor constrictor Linnaeus) (Lanman 1849:353,382) and the venomous "coppersnake," or northern copperhead (Agkistrodon contortrix mokeson [Daudin])

(Williams 1927:72), and timber rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus horridus Linnaeus) (De Vorsey 1971:107; Lanman 1849:346,353,379; Williams 1927:72).

Birds constituted the greatest number of species (circa 240) of all the vertebrate fauna. Wild turkey (Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus) was the largest as well as the most abundant and widely distributed bird (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212; Hawkins 1916:23,24; Klinck and Talman 1970:118,143,147,148; Louis-Philippe 1977:59; Mereness 1916:113; Public Record Office 1725; Thwaites 1904:261; Williams 1927:44,47,71, 1928:27,100,435), occurring year-round and often congregating in flocks in the mountains (Lanman 1849:352), plains (Harper 1958:220,563; Williams 1928:478), and meadows (Harper 1958:225,654). Other residential ground-dwelling gallinaceous fowl were "pheasant," or ruffed grouse (Bonasa umbellus [Linnaeus]) (Harper 1958:209,566; Louis-Philippe 1977:59; Williams 1927:71, 1928:435), noted for its loud drumming call (Harper 1958:209,566), and "quail," or "partridge," i.e., northern bobwhite (Colinus virginianus [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:352; Williams 1927:71).

Waterfowl, such as the Canada goose (Branta canadensis [Linnaeus]) (Fries 1970:1986; Williams 1927:47,71, 1928:263), tundra swan (Cygnus columbianus [Ord]) (Williams 1927:47, 1928:263), and a variety of ducks (Anatinae) (Williams 1927:47,71), were present in the area's lakes and ponds either for the duration of the winter (winter range)

or for a brief period of time as a resting place along their spring and/or fall migration routes (migrants). Raptorial birds--the year-round residential "buzzard," or turkey vulture (Cathartes aura [Linnaeus]), and black vulture (Coragyps atratus [Bechstein]) (Cathartidae), as well as the wintering bald (Haliaeetus leucocephalus [Linnaeus]) and golden (Aquila chrysaetos [Linnaeus]) eagles (Accipitrinae)--were quite common in the mountains, frequently roosting on cliffs and rocky ledges near ravines (Lanman 1849:365,366,367).

A great variety of year-round passerine, or perching, birds were observed in the area: blue jay (Cyanocitta cristata [Linnaeus]), eastern meadowlark (Sturnella magna [Linnaeus]), eastern bluebird (Sialia sialis [Linnaeus]), American crow (Corvus brachyrhynchos Brehm), American robin (Turdus migratorius Linnaeus) (Lanman 1849:352), northern mockingbird (Mimus polyglottos [Linnaeus]) (Harper 1958:218,566; Lanman 1849:352,454), and "redbird," or northern cardinal (Cardinalis cardinalis [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:352; Louis-Philippe 1977:59). Additional common residents were the mourning dove (Zenaida macroura [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:352,396; Louis-Philippe 1977:59; Williams 1928:435) and several species of woodpecker (Picinae) (Lanman 1849:352; Louis-Philippe 1977:59).

Certain birds were only present during the breeding season, i.e., generally summer but may include spring. These included the common nighthawk (Chordeiles minor

[Forster]), Chuck-will's-widow (Caprimulgus carolinensis Gmelin), and the whip-poor-will (Caprimulgus vociferus Wilson) (Caprimulgidae), all noted for their shrill cries (Harper 1958:209,217,218,574,662), and the purple martin (Progne subis [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:396) and eastern kingbird (Tyrannus tyrannus [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:352).

It should be noted that the rock dove (Columba livia Gmelin) was not a native bird but rather was introduced into North America (AOU 1983:250-251; Robbins et al. 1983:166; Schorger 1952) by the Europeans in the 1600s (Schorger 1952). Its possible domestication by the Cherokee remains uncertain as this is never mentioned in any of the primary historical accounts.

Mammals constituted the largest-sized of the native fauna. White-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus [Boddaert]) surpassed all other mammalian species both in abundance and in distribution and was found throughout the area (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212; American State Papers 1832:41; Foreman 1956:149; Hawkins 1916:24; Klinck and Talman 1970:112,117; Lanman 1849:352-353,379; Louis-Philippe 1977:59; Richardson 1759; Tassel 1976:129; United States Senate 1846:23; Williams 1921:177, 1927:47, 1928:27,435, 1931:137): in the mountains (Klinck and Talman 1970:119,147; Lanman 1849:352,370,438,441), woods (Fries 1968:49; Williams 1927:71), and meadows (Harper 1958:225,492-493); and near water--along rivers and streams (Lanman 1849:393-394,434-435; Williams 1930:239,271), on

plains (Harper 1958:220,614), in valleys (Klinck and Talman 1970:81), in ravines (Lanman 1849:379,393), and at salt licks (Walker 1888:45; Williams 1928:171).

Black bear (Ursus americanus [Pallas]) was quite common (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212,223; Klinck and Talman 1970:143; Richardson 1759; Tassel 1976:129; United States Senate 1846:23; Walker 1888:45; Williams 1921:177, 1927:45-46,47, 1928:27,37,172, 1931:137) in the mountains (Lanman 1849:352,370,371,404-405,438,453; Thwaites 1904:289-290) and wooded habitats (Williams 1927:71). Several bears were reported as weighing approximately 350 pounds (159 kg) (Lanman 1849:371) or 400 pounds (181 kg) (Thwaites 1904:289; Williams 1927:47). A number of other large mammals resided in the area, including the following: "buffalo," or bison (Bison bison [Linnaeus]) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:213; Fries 1968:51; Tassel 1976:129; Walker 1888:43,44; Williams 1921:177, 1927:47,71,120-121, 1928:28,170,171,173, 1930:445-446); elk (Cervus canadensis Erxleben) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212; Harper 1958:30,498; Richardson 1759; Williams 1928:27, 1931:137); "panther," or mountain lion (Felis concolor Linnaeus) (Fries 1968:52; Lanman 1849:352,370,394,438; United States Senate 1846:23; Williams 1927:71); and gray wolf (Canis lupus Linnaeus) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212; Fries 1968:51-52; Klinck and Talman 1970:39; Lanman 1849:370; United States Senate 1846:23; Williams 1927:71, 1928:27).

Medium-sized mammals also abounded in the mountains and woods: "wildcat," or bobcat (Lynx rufus [Schreber]) (Lanman 1849:370), eastern raccoon (Procyon lotor [Linnaeus]) (Lanman 1849:370; Williams 1927:71), Virginia opossum (Didelphis virginiana Kerr) (Williams 1927:71), and fox (Vulpes vulpes Linnaeus and Urocyon cinereoargenteus [Schreber]) (Lanman 1849:370; Williams 1927:71). Smaller species included rabbit, i.e., eastern cottontail (Sylvilagus floridanus [Allen]) (Williams 1927:71), several kinds of squirrels (Sciuridae) (Williams 1927:71), especially the gray squirrel (Sciurus carolinensis Gmelin) (Lanman 1849:352), and plainnose bats (Vespertilionidae) (Harper 1958:217,449; Lanman 1849:367).

Several mammals were aquatic. Beaver (Castor canadensis [Kuhl]) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Fries 1970:1983; Hagy and Folmsbee 1971:120; Richardson 1759; Williams 1927:47,69, 1928:37,258, 1931:137) and river otter (Lutra canadensis [Schreber]) (Williams 1927:69) resided in the area's streams, rivers, and lakes.

Invertebrate fauna, e.g., insects, also thrived in the Southern Appalachian Highlands. The cell-building activities of the "dirt," or mud, dauber (Sceliphron/Chalybion spp.) (Lanman 1849:398) and the distinctive song of the katydid (Tettigoniidae) (Lanman 1849:396) were described. The "flying stag," perhaps the stag beetle (Lucanidae), was noted for its large beautiful branching "horns" (mandibles) (Williams 1927:72). The

"stump-stinger," an insect having a hard and pointed weapon with which it bores into trees to deposit its eggs (Lanman 1849:398), probably referred to a female horntail (Siricidae) (Borror et al. 1981:661).

The presence of certain domestic animals was noted. Of these domesticates, the dog (Canis familiaris Linnaeus) (Fries 1970:1982; Harper 1958:228,494-495; Klinck and Talman 1970:81; Mereness 1916:113; Public Record Office 1725; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:101,257,490) was the only native species. All others were introduced following European contact and were gradually accepted by the Cherokee during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus, horse (Equus caballus Linnaeus) (American State Papers 1832:124,543,638, 1834:283,651; Bartram 1853:32,47; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; De Vorsey 1971:108; Fries 1968:165, 1970:1985; Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:93; Harper 1958:225,230,528-529; Hawkins 1916:16,56; Henderson 1931:103,107; Klinck and Talman 1970; Lanman 1849:416; Louis-Philippe 1977:75,91; McDowell 1955:14-15,73, 1958, 1970; Mereness 1916:154,158; Public Record Office 1725, 1761:599; Richardson 1759; United States Senate 1846:14; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1927:67,72, 1928:261,460,477,479,485,490, 1930:241,242,436, 1931:128; Yonge 1933:35), swine (Sus scrofa Linnaeus) (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Fyffe 1761:5; Hawkins 1916:21,22,23,56; Klinck and Talman 1970; Louis-Philippe 1977:79; McDowell

1955:14-15, 1970; United States Senate 1846:14; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1927:72, 1928:464,479,485,490, 1930:140,241,242,436,444), and chicken (Gallus gallus [Linnaeus]) (Fyffe 1761:5; Hawkins 1916:18,21,23; Virginia State State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:479,485,490, 1930:241,443) became common domesticates. These were followed by cattle (Bos taurus Linnaeus) (American State Papers 1832:205, 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828, 1831; Fries 1970:1985; Fyffe 1761:5; Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:93,94; Harper 1958:221,467; Hawkins 1916; Henderson 1931:103,105,107; Klinck and Talman 1970; Lanman 1849:416; Louis-Philippe 1977:75; McDowell 1970; Mereness 1916:252; Meriwether 1904:443; United States Senate 1846:14; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:159,261,479,485,490, 1930:138-139,241,242), sheep (Ovis aries Linnaeus) (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:94; Henderson 1931:105; Klinck and Talman 1970:162; Lanman 1849:416; Meriwether 1904:443; United States Senate 1846:14), goat (Capra hircus Linnaeus) (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828), cat (Felis catus Linnaeus) (Williams 1928:490), and honey bee (Apis mellifera Linnaeus) (Brown 1938a:445; Malone 1956a:22,139; Mooney 1900a:82; Swanton 1979:252).

The present fauna of the Southern Appalachian Highlands is somewhat altered in composition (relative numbers and variety of species) and in distribution.

Modifications were occurring even during the Cherokee period of occupation. Overexploitation resulted in diminishing deer and bear populations (Goodwin 1977:132; Klinck and Talman 1970:130-131; Newman 1979) as well as in the extirpation of the buffalo by the late 1700s (Harper 1958:30,458; Linzey and Linzey 1971:76-77; Rostlund 1960; Williams 1930:445-446). Following the American Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century, more extensive changes took place with the arrival of increasing numbers of Euro-American settlers into the region. Large tracts of land were cleared for cultivation and homesteads (Ayres and Ashe 1905:18-23), thereby reducing or altering the natural habitat of many animal species. Furthermore, indiscriminant hunting and trapping practices led to the extirpation of the elk (Linzey and Linzey 1971:74) and fisher (Martes pennanti [Erxleben]) (Linzey and Linzey 1971:63) by the mid-1800s, gray wolf circa 1890 (Linzey and Linzey 1971:52,53-54), and mountain lion (Linzey and Linzey 1971:68-70) and river otter (Linzey and Linzey 1971:67) by the 1920s, and to the total extinction of the Carolina parakeet (Conuropsis carolinensis [Linnaeus]) (AOU 1983:268; Peterson 1980:178) and passenger pigeon (Ectopistes migratorius [Linnaeus]) (AOU 1983:258; Schorger 1973) by the early 1900s.

During the twentieth century, additional factors, such as lumbering, road construction, and urban growth, produced more drastic consequences. The chestnut blight fungus of

the 1920s and 1930s destroyed the original oak-chestnut community (Shelford 1963:38-39; Whittaker 1956:3-4); in time, certain birds were no longer abundant (Shelford 1963:42), and several mammalian species, e.g., squirrel and bear, were forced to shift from chestnuts to acorns for their food supply (Linzey and Linzey 1971:xiv). The increasing use of pesticides led to the eventual extirpation of the peregrine falcon (Falco peregrinus Tunstall) in the mid-1950s (AOU 1983:128; Bull and Farrand 1977:470; Peterson 1980:map 181). More recently, various pollutants, e.g., toxic chemicals, and extensive dam construction are having a major impact upon the region's ecosystem.

One further modification should be noted. Approximately 13 new species have been introduced since the late nineteenth century. They include the following: three birds--European starling (Sturnus vulgaris Linnaeus) (AOU 1983:585-586; National Geographic Society 1983:346; Peterson 1980:256), house finch (Carpodacus mexicanus [Muller]) (AOU 1983:746; National Geographic Society 1983:440; Peterson 1980:270, map 356), and house, or English, sparrow (Passer domesticus [Linnaeus]) (AOU 1983:764-765; National Geographic Society 1983:432; Peterson 1980:262, map 341); and 10 fish--threadfin shad (Dorosoma petenense [Gunther]), rainbow trout (Salmo gairdneri Richardson), brown trout (Salmo trutta Linnaeus), goldfish (Carassius auratus [Linnaeus]), common carp (Cyprinus

carpio Linnaeus), mosquitofish (Gambusia affinis [Baird and Girard]), white bass (Morone chrysops [Rafinesque]), striped bass (Morone saxatilis [Walbaum]), redbreast sunfish (Lepomis auritus [Linnaeus]), and yellow perch (Perca flavescens [Mitchill]) (Lee et al. 1980).

Tables A-2 and A-3 in Appendix A are a listing of all the native (indigenous) and introduced fauna, respectively, present in the Cherokee area during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as recorded in early ethnographic and primary historical accounts.
Table A-4 in Appendix A is based upon research by western zoological systematists and entails a comprehensive list of all the vertebrate fauna, native and introduced, potentially present in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, the specific geographical focus of this study, during the time period under consideration.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY: DATA SOURCES, RECORDING PROCEDURES, AND FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

> The analysis of a culture's terminological systems will not, of course, exhaustively reveal the cognitive world of its members, but it will certainly tap a central portion of it.
>
> Charles O. Frake (1962a:75)

Folk semantic studies are ordinarily conducted among contemporary human populations with the goal of discovering and describing the natives' own world of experience. Such research necessitates the use of descriptive linguistic and ethnosemantic field methods, whereby intensive fieldwork is carried out in a natural setting by participant observation and then by elicitation and formal interviews. A number of living informants are relied upon for the collection of words, their definition(s) in terms of the classes that they label (referents), and the relationship(s) among these recognized classes, as well as for any associated contextual information, all pertaining to specific phenomena. Such phenomena are usually restricted to a particular cultural, or semantic, domain (a set of conceptually related classes).

The present work differs from typical folk semantic studies in that it attempts to reconstruct the beliefs, knowledge, and practices of a group of people that lived in the past. More specifically, the objective is to provide a detailed methodology by which the language and culture of the Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern Tennessee, U.S.A., during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may be examined in order to ascertain and delineate the nomenclature and classification(s) of their animal semantic domain and the significance of this system of knowledge within the context of their daily lives. In this type of approach, the fieldwork entails an investigation of linguistic, oral tradition, and ethnographic/historical data previously collected during approximately the time period under consideration. The informants are represented by the entirety of written sources in which relevant information was recorded.

A note of caution, however, is essential regarding the use of these sources as a basis for reconstructing past human knowledge and lifeways. Many of these writings are by individuals rooted in western cultural traditions, which, in turn, may have influenced their interpretation of Cherokee cultural phenomena. Thus, the present type of study necessitates a double awareness: The researcher must contend not only with his/her own cultural biases, as in all anthropological work, but also with those of the earlier investigators.

Data Sources

Data pertaining to the language and culture of the protohistoric Cherokee Indians may be obtained from numerous sources. Some of these writings have been published, but others are in the form of unpublished manuscripts that are stored in a number of archival depositories and/or special library collections. For convenience, these various kinds of sources, like the data, are categorized here into three major types: linguistic, recorded oral traditions, and early ethnographic/historical accounts.

Linguistic sources provide the animal nomenclatural, or lexical, data and include vocabulary lists, early dictionaries, texts, early grammars, and linguistic field notes. Linguistic field notes may be separate documents, generally recorded on small pieces of paper, or they may be scattered throughout the other previously mentioned linguistic sources, frequently scribbled in the margins alongside certain lexical terms. These notes often provide information pertaining to the morphological analysis, literal meaning, and/or origin of a particular animal name; a description of the animal referent, such as its physical appearance and/or behavior; and the identification of the animal referent in terms of the corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa.

A number of the vocabulary lists were collected by several anthropologists and linguists, such as James Mooney and Albert Gatschet, respectively, who conducted research for the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), and are on file at the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives in Washington, D.C. (Gatschet 1879-1880, 1885a, 1885b, 1886; Hewitt 1887; Jones 1866a, 1866b, 1866c; Jones et al. n.d.; Mooney 1885, 1887; Preston 1796). Additional unpublished word lists are stored in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia (Campbell 1800; Hawkins 1784, 1800; Olbrechts 1930b). Other vocabulary lists have been published (American Society 1824:58-62; Bringier 1821; Brown 1938a:525-549; De Vorsey 1971:115-131; Domenech 1860:164-189; Gallatin 1836:305-367,398-404, 1848:82-88; Hale 1883:27; Haywood 1959:264-267; McIntosh 1844:100-103; Mooney 1900a:506-548; Say 1905:290-298; Williams 1930:60-64).

Early attempts at describing portions of the Cherokee grammatical system also provide some animal lexical data. A number of these sources have been retained as manuscripts (Hewitt 1887; Jones n.d.; Mooney n.d.a, n.d.b), though most have been published (American Society 1824:58-62; Gabelentz in Krueger 1963:2-29; Gallatin 1836:239-250,276, 291-294,415-421; Pickering in Krueger 1963:29-56; Worcester 1853:443-456).

More recent (twentieth-century) studies on the Cherokee language are also examined, including vocabulary lists in manuscript form (Marnett 1939), animal accounts (Pickens 1943; Speck 1946; Witthoft 1946b), dictionaries (Alexander 1971; Chiltoskey 1972; Feeling 1975; King 1975), grammars (Bender 1949; Bender and Harris 1946; King 1975; Pulte and Feeling 1975; Reyburn 1953a, 1953b, 1954), texts (Olbrechts 1931; Speck 1927), and workbooks (Holmes and Smith 1977). These materials are not used as sources for animal names since they may contain terms added in the recent past, which, consequently, are not relevant here. Rather, such references are consulted for a working knowledge of the Cherokee language and thus make possible the analysis of the phonological and morphological structure of the lexicon found in the earlier written sources.

The nomenclatural data obtained from the foregoing literature and subsequent analysis thereof serve as the basis for ascertaining Cherokee animal classifications. Such evidence is supplemented by inferences also drawn from other kinds of linguistic data, and from information pertaining to the significance of various recognized fauna in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture as derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts.

Oral tradition sources deal exclusively with native renditions of traditional beliefs, knowledge, and practices as recorded by anthropologists or by linguists or, in later

times, by the Cherokee natives themselves. Such references take several forms: mythology, folktales, and folk beliefs and knowledge (Davis 1909, 1910, 1937; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney 1888, 1900a; Olbrechts 1931; Speck 1927; Ten Kate 1889; Terrell 1892; Witthoft 1946a, 1946b); sacred formulas (Mooney 1891; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932); ceremonial descriptions, e.g., dances (Speck and Broom 1951) and the ball play (Mooney 1890b); and ethnohistorical manuscripts, i.e., traditions recorded by individual Cherokee (e.g., Hicks in Swanton 1979:768-769,771-772; Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932).

Ethnographic/historical sources consist of early observations written by nonanthropologists and of official documents, both of which frequently contain important ethnographic, or cultural, information. Although such information is usually presented from the writers' own perspective, a few oral traditions as related by native informants are sometimes included.

Early observations involve descriptions by individuals, most of whom had firsthand contact with the Cherokee Indians. Such accounts are abundant and are predominantly in the form of journals and diaries, which were written by various kinds of individuals: travellers--George W. Featherstonhaugh (Foreman 1956), Louis-Philippe (1977; Williams 1928:433-441), and Major John Norton (Klinck and Talman 1970); botanists--William Bartram (Harper 1958), Andre Michaux (Thwaites 1904:25-104; Williams 1928:

327-342), and Francois Andre Michaux (Thwaites 1904:105-306); missionaries--Reverend William Richardson (1759; Williams 1931), Martin Schneider (Fries 1970:1975-1988; Williams 1928:245-265), August Gottlieh Spangenberg (Fries 1968:30-64), and Abraham Steiner and Frederick C. De Schweinitz (Williams 1928:445-525); captives--Antoine Bonnefoy (Mereness 1916:239-255; Williams 1928:147-162); explorers--Dr. Thomas Walker (1888; Williams 1928:165-174); and European, colonial, or later American officials --Colonel George Chicken (Cheves 1894; Mereness 1916:95-172; Public Record Office 1725; Williams 1928:93-104), Sir Alexander Cuming (Public Record Office 1730; Williams 1928:115-143), Lieutenant Colonel James Grant (Public Record Office 1761; Yonge 1933), and Benjamin Hawkins (1916; Grant 1980; Williams 1928:369-372).

Other informative primary accounts are within the context of the following: monographs by traders (James Adair [Williams 1930] and Alexander Longe [Corkran 1969]), missionaries (Reverend Daniel Sahin Butrick [1884, n.d.a, n.d.b; Payne n.d.]), and other individuals (e.g., I.P. Evans [n.d.]), who lived among the Cherokee for an extended period of time; memoirs--Lieutenant Henry Timberlake (Williams 1927); letters--William Fyffe (1761), Charles Lanman (1849), Chevalier Chr. de Lantagnac (Williams 1928:177-184), and Abraham Wood (on the explorations of James Needham and Gahriel Arthur) (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:207-227; Williams 1928:17-38); and reports--William

Bartram (1853), Reverend David Brown (American State Papers 1834:650-652), John William Gerard De Brahm (De Vorsey 1971; Williams 1928:187-194), David Menzies (1761), and William Holland Thomas (United States Senate 1846).

Some ethnographic information, however, is less consciously transmitted and may be found in various official documents pertaining to Cherokee/white business, military, and/or political affairs. Such records include trade agreements and lists of goods and prices (McDowell 1955, 1958, 1970), peace treaties and/or land cessions (American State Papers 1832, 1834; Hagy and Folmsbee 1972, 1973; Henderson 1931; Public Record Office 1730), speeches and "talks" (American State Papers 1832:205-206; McDowell 1958, 1970; Tassel 1976; Williams 1921), and correspondence (Hagy and Folmsbee 1971, 1972, 1973; McDowell 1958, 1970; Meriwether 1904; Virginia State Archives 1909).

It is very important to note that a few of these early primary sources (Bartram 1853; Fries 1968; Harper 1958; McDowell 1955, 1958, 1970; Williams 1930) provide ethnographic information on other Southeast Indian groups in addition to the Cherokee. Although such descriptions of specific groups are, for the most part, presented as individual accounts, a separate section is usually also included containing observations on the Southeast Indians in general without distinguishing among the various groups. Nevertheless, such general information is also used in this study as it may possibly pertain specifically to the

Cherokee Indians, or else to the Southeast Indians as a whole, i.e., broadly diffused cultural traits.

Important secondary sources are also consulted (e.g., Alden 1944; Brown 1938a, 1938b; Corkran 1962; Crane 1929; Franklin 1932, 1933; Haywood 1959; King 1979; Malone 1956a; Milling 1940; Mooney 1900a:14-228; O'Donnell 1973; Ramsey 1853; Randolph 1973; Rothrock 1929; Royce 1887; Swanton 1979; Williams 1937, 1974; Willis 1955).

It should be emphasized that the three categories of sources defined here are not mutually exclusive in the kinds of data they contain. Thus, linguistic, or nomenclatural, data are also derived from recorded oral tradition sources, such as sacred formulas (see Mooney 1891), and from early ethnographic/historical accounts, such as word lists compiled by traders and travellers (see Williams 1930:60-64). Oral tradition data, such as myths, are sometimes recorded in linguistic sources as texts (see Speck 1927) and in early ethnographic/historical accounts as local Indian stories (see Lanman 1849). Ethnographic, or cultural, data may be found in linguistic sources, e.g., descriptions of hunting methods used in capturing certain animals (see Mooney 1885), and in recorded oral tradition sources, e.g., descriptions of religious festivals (see Hicks in Swanton 1979:771).

Recording Procedures

A file system may serve as a guide to the systematic collection of large amounts of data. This procedure is employed in descriptive linguistic fieldwork, whereby the processing of material is often done by slip filing (Hardman and Hamano 1981:226-235; Nida 1949:195; Samarin 1967:153). This method of organization is used here, and a number of separate files are established for each of the major kinds of data--linguistic, oral tradition, and ethnographic/historical--involved in this study.

Data entries are written on 4X6-inch (10X15 cm) pieces of paper because these are small enough in size for purposes of easy storage and portability but large enough for recording a substantial amount of information. The grouping of these slips as well as the overall organization of the files is determined by the classes inferred from the materials gathered so that these data banks may serve as an adequate basis for all subsequent analyses and interpretations.

Linguistic File

The linguistic, or lexical, file consists of a record of all the Cherokee animal names obtained from early sources. It is partitioned into two major sections: English to Cherokee (source to target language, or language of researcher to language under study, respectively), and

Cherokee to English (target to source language) (Samarin 1967:155). This file is analogous to the morphological kind set up by descriptive linguists; the difference is that, in the lexical file, the data are ordered by lexeme rather than by morph.

For every animal name examined in a particular reference, two slips are made, one for each section. The lexical entry includes the following basic information (Figure 3-1): Cherokee animal name; English gloss; type of source (vocabulary list, dictionary, text, or grammar); and full reference, where the name is located, to enable later checks, if necessary. Other data recorded consist of any notes accompanying the name.

The English to Cherokee slips are grouped and ordered according to the manner in which the names were recorded in the standard vocabulary lists employed by early investigators, i.e., by the western science classificatory system. The Cherokee to English section, however, entails an alphabetical filing of the lexical terms: The objective is to ascertain whether any of the animal referents have the same name.

Oral Tradition File

Oral tradition data constitute a distinct file, which is in two parts. The first section is subdivided into the four major kinds of Cherokee oral traditions: 1. mythology, folktales, and folk beliefs and knowledge; 2. sacred

English Gloss

File Name
Type of Source

Cherokee Animal Name
(supplementary information)

Reference

Examples
Cherokee Animal Name

cow

Linguistic
Vocabulary List

wah-ka

borrowed from the Spanish vaca

Mooney 1885:192

chickadee

Linguistic
Vocabulary List

tsi-ki-li-li

This term is onomatopoetic.
Cherokee regard chickadee as a news bringer.

Mooney 1885:119

Figure 3-1
English to Cherokee Linguistic File Slip

formulas; 3. ceremonial descriptions; and 4. ethnohistorical manuscripts. Every tradition is described in detail on a separate index card. The second section consists of slips recorded for every animal mentioned with an account of its context (Figure 3-2) and is arranged according to the classificatory scheme inferred from the data examined.

Ethnographic/Historical File

The ethnographic/historical file, like the oral tradition one, is composed of slips recorded for every animal discussed in these references with its contextual and any other accompanying information (Figure 3-3). This file, however, is partitioned into seven major subject headings: 1. natural ecology (native animals present in the Cherokee country); 2. native North American animals in secular culture (animals procured, food and nonfood products, and trade); 3. introduced Old World animals in secular culture (animals acquired/raised, food and nonfood products, and trade); 4. procurement methods and implements (fishing, hunting, seasonality, and female/male roles); 5. food processing and consumption patterns (food preservation, food preparation, cooking/storage/eating utensils, and patterns of consumption); 6. animals in ideology and ritual (ideology, group ritual [religious festivals/dances], rites of passage, hunting ritual, medicinal/sickness ritual, power [civil/military--rulers, ball play, war, peace], divination/sacrifice, and

English Gloss (lexicon if provided) | File Name
Type of Tradition

Contextual Information

Reference

Examples
Cherokee Animal Referent

Partridge | Oral Tradition
Myth

How the Partridge Got His Whistle

The Partridge was jealous of the Terrapin, who had a fine whistle. The Partridge asked to try it and flew away with it. The Terrapin never recovered its whistle, and the Partridge has had it ever since.

Mooney 1900a:289

Deer | Oral Tradition
Myth

How the Deer Got Horns

The Deer and the Rabbit were to race. Antlers were to be given to the winner. The Rabbit cheated before the race so that the antlers were given to the Deer.

Mooney 1900a:275-276

wolf | Oral Tradition
Sacred Formula

To Cure Them When They Have Their Feet Frost Bitten

The wolf, fox, deer, and opossum are invoked to cure frostbitten feet.

Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:298-299

Figure 3-2
Cherokee Oral Tradition File Slip

English Gloss (subject heading[s]--subheading[s])	File Name Type of Source (primary or secondary)
Contextual Information	
Reference	

Examples
Cherokee Animal Referent

deer (native animal--nonfood products)	E/H Journal (primary)
Norton on Cherokee (1809-1810)	
Men's dress included moccasins and leggings made of deer skins.	
Klinck and Talman 1970:134	

horse (introduced Old World animal--animals acquired/raised)	E/H Journal (primary)
Steiner and De Schweinitz on Cherokee (1799)	
At Tellico, there is little cattle, but there are many horses, hogs, and especially chickens.	
Williams 1928:479	

turkey (ideology and ritual--sacrifice)	E/H Monograph (primary)
Butrick on Cherokee (1800s)	
On cooking any large fowl, as turkeys, geese, etc., they always sacrificed the breast.	
Butrick 1884:12	

Figure 3-3
Cherokee Ethnographic/Historical File Slip

miscellaneous individual ritual); and 7. classification of animals. Within each of these sections, the slips are arranged according to the western science classificatory system as presented in the original sources. Furthermore, since the topics overlap to some extent, cross-filing, i.e., duplicating and subsequently filing the same slip in several different sections, is employed.

Framework of Analysis

The present study entails an analysis of the protohistoric Cherokee animal semantic domain. This analysis is divided into four stages: nomenclature, cultural significance, classification, and synthesis.

Semantic Domain Analysis--Introduction

A large number of folk semantic studies have concentrated upon native biological (plant and animal) semantic domains. Traditionally, such systems were described in terms of their functional aspects, and, in many of the earliest studies, the emphasis was on recording the usage of named plants (see Densmore 1928; Gilmore 1919; Robbins et al. 1916; Steedman 1930; Stevenson 1915) and animals (see Henderson and Harrington 1914). These were usually presented in the form of a list of those western scientific species recognized, with each entry accompanied by the native word and a summary of its uses; labelled

biological organisms of no known utility were generally not documented.

During the past three decades, however, with the development of the subfield of ethnosemantics in anthropology (also called the new ethnography or cognitive anthropology), these considerations have been overshadowed by an overwhelming concern for understanding the natives' own conceptualizations of their environment and the structure of such systems of knowledge (Berlin 1972, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978; Berlin et al. 1966, 1968, 1973, 1974; Conklin 1962a, 1962b, 1964; Frake 1962a, 1962b, 1964a; see Berlin 1967, 1976; Berlin et al. 1968, 1973, 1974, 1981; Conklin 1954, 1955; Frake 1961, 1964a, 1964b, 1964c). These systems are defined by three analytically distinct, though interrelated, cognitive processes: classification (systematically grouping individual living things into classes and designating the kinds of relations among the classes established); nomenclature (applying names to these conceptually recognized classes); and identification (indicating the criteria employed when assigning an individual organism to a particular recognized, i.e., previously established, class) (Berlin 1973:259; Bruner et al. 1956:1; Hunn 1975b, 1977:41; Mayr 1969:4; Simpson 1945:3, 1961:9,18-19). Although all three procedures should ideally be examined in order to achieve a comprehensive structural description of a particular society's knowledge of the natural world, only the first

two have been extensively studied in detail (see Berlin et al. 1974; Hunn 1977). Research into the nature of identification (see Hunn 1975b) has seldom been pursued. The resultant findings of a number of these ethnosemantic studies have been compared, consequently generating several cross-cultural principles of folk biological classification and nomenclature (Berlin 1972, 1973, 1976, 1978; Berlin et al. 1973, 1974; Raven et al. 1971).

Recently, a few researchers are shifting the emphasis again to the cultural significance, or practical value, of recognized plants and animals, but in terms of specifying the native point of view, i.e., the application of folk systems of knowledge. Such an approach involves an investigation into the differential human behavioral and attitudinal responses associated with folk conceptual and terminological distinctions (Hays 1974, 1982; Hunn 1982). This new orientation represents a synthesis of traditional functional interests with more recent cognitive-structural concerns.

The present work follows the last approach and concentrates upon delineating first the nomenclature, then the cultural significance, and finally the classification(s) of the Cherokee animal semantic domain, or folk zoological system.[1] This particular ordering of

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[1]The process of identification is not considered here because it requires special psychological theories and techniques that are not applicable to the study of past human populations.

the data presentation is necessary because the reconstruction of the classificatory arrangements is dependent upon inferences drawn from the results of the other two analyses.

Nomenclature

The first stage of the semantic domain analysis involves an examination of the nomenclature in terms of both its grammatical and semantic structure. The grammatical analysis, which must be completed first, entails the use of descriptive linguistic techniques. Contemporary studies of the Cherokee language are consulted for a working knowledge of its phonology and morphology. The morphological analysis presented here is primarily based upon Duane King's (1975) grammar of the Cherokee language as spoken by today's North Carolina Cherokee (Middle dialect); the phonemic orthography used, however, is that of today's Oklahoma Cherokee dialect (Feeling 1975), because it is supposedly the one spoken by those Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern Tennessee during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Overhill dialect). Each animal name is analyzed into its morpheme constituents and put into the phonemic orthography already established for the Overhill Cherokee dialect (see Chapter 2).

Based upon their grammatical form, the names are then individually assigned to one of four possible noun

categories. Uninflected nouns consist solely of a single root morpheme. Inflected nouns require a person/number prefix and, in certain cases, also require an initial distributive prefix or may have a reflexive prefix. Derived nouns may be either a noun root with a derivational (optional) attributive suffix or a nominalized verb (i.e., theme formation) (see Chapter 2). Compounds, or composite terms, are composed of more than one root and include two independent segments, a head and an attributive, which are combined to form a binomial expression. The head is usually precedent and is generally an uninflected noun; in some names, it may be an inflected or derived noun. The attributive, which modifies the head, may be uninflected, inflected, derived, or, in several instances, composite, or multiple stemmed. Despite the variety of structural combinations in composite terms, the head-attributive distinction is always primary.

In contrast to the grammatical aspect of the nomenclature, which refers to the language's internal organization, the semantic component relates to extralinguistic phenomena and involves the meanings associated with each name. It is important to emphasize here that these names do not serve as labels for individual organisms but rather designate groupings of entities (Hays 1974:111), that is, animal classes. Each name is defined by stating its English gloss (translation), which is enclosed in single quotation marks, as well as all the

possible referents included in terms of the corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa. It should be noted that these western scientific identifications are sometimes clearly presented in the various sources. Where references differ in this regard, judgments are made on the basis of any supplementary information (e.g., description of the animal) given. In many other instances, however, precise identifications are not presented and, consequently, must be based upon such evidence as the literal meaning or the onomatopoetic nature of the name or the descriptive account of the animal as given by the Cherokee and/or by the early investigator(s). For some of these names, these descriptions are very limited or no supplementary information is given so that identification is virtually impossible. It is important to emphasize that, for all of the names, alternative correspondences between Cherokee and western scientific taxa may be possible. Thus, this cross-linguistic semantic matching should be construed only as establishing approximate, rather than absolute, equivalents (Casagrande 1954b:338; Conklin 1962a:124; Hall 1964:230; Nida 1945:205-206; Phillips 1959:184).

It should be noted that each of the names presented must be an elementary lexical unit, that is, a single lexeme, or monolexeme: This is considered a semantically opaque, or exocentric, construction since its meaning cannot be deduced from its component parts or from its assumed etymology. A polylexemic form, on the other

hand, is an expression that is semantically transparent, or endocentric (its meaning can be determined from its constituents), and, consequently, is a descriptive phrase (Casson 1981:79; Conklin 1962a:121-122; Goodenough 1956:199; Nida 1958:286). (For example, in English, "blackbird" is a lexeme referring to a particular species of bird, and "black bird," a polylexeme, designates a bird that is black in color [Casson 1981:79; Conklin 1962a:121].) This distinction may be difficult to ascertain for some of the composite terms; the analysis of such a restricted vocabulary corpus (only animal lexicon) as well as the limited amount of recorded corresponding contextual information precludes a more precise determination. Hence, a few of the expressions designated as names in the data set may actually be phrases.

The next procedure entails analyzing each animal name in terms of the linguistic processes constituting its formation and modification. Such phenomena may be triggered by external influences, linguistic and nonlinguistic (e.g., contact with other human populations and the subsequent introduction of new cultural forms, ideas, as well as linguistic features), or are simply part of the internal ongoing changes that naturally occur in some form in all language systems.

Three major kinds of processes are common within the Cherokee language (King and King 1976). External borrowing involves the importation and eventual integration of new

vocabulary words as a result of intercultural contact (see Casagrande 1954a:217,228-233; Herzog 1941; Johnson 1943; King and King 1976:58-59; Lee 1943; Spicer 1943), either direct (living in close proximity and interacting with speakers of other languages) or indirect (trade networks), and may be for purposes of prestige, the avoidance of taboos, or the fulfillment of certain needs (King and King 1976:58).

Semantic shift is an analogical process (internal borrowing) and may refer to several types of changes in the meaning of words (Hall 1964:325-326,348-349), two of which are noted in the present data set. Semantic extension is when the meaning of a word, indigenous or previously introduced, is expanded to include additional cultural forms or concepts on the basis of a real or an imagined (metaphorical) semantic similarity (amplification of the contexts in which a word is used) (Hall 1964:325-326,348-349; King and King 1976:59; see Casagrande 1954a:217,218-221; Herzog 1941; King and King 1976:59-60; Lee 1943). Semantic replacement is a total change of the contexts in which a word is used; the original meaning of the word is eventually lost (Hall 1964:325-326; Herzog 1941:66; see Hoijer 1948:341).

Finally, descriptive derivation, the third kind of linguistic process, differs from the preceding two major types in that it entails modifications in the morphology as well as in the vocabulary and semantic structure and

results in the formation of new words, derived nouns and composite terms, by the affixation or compounding, respectively, of already existing lexicon (Hall 1964:175-180; King and King 1976:60; see Casagrande 1954a:217,221-228; Hoijer 1948:341; King and King 1976:60-61). All of the foregoing processes and combinations thereof are described in detail for each of the animal names in which they are exemplified.

The last two methods employed in the nomenclatural stage of the analysis involve examining the vocabulary words solely in terms of their semantic structure. First, each name is described regarding the kinds of meanings represented. Certain semantic dimensions are frequently expressed, including those of shape, behavior, size, color, texture, and habitat. Other less important ones are focal membership, smell, and analogy. Some names are onomatopoetic, making reference to the characteristic sound(s) produced by a particular animal. Additional semantic patterns include the marking of age (young versus old) and gender.

Finally, each animal name is categorized according to a lexeme typology that was initially devised by Harold Conklin (1962a:122) and subsequently modified by Brent Berlin and his collaborators (Berlin et al. 1973:216-219, 1974:27-29) (Figure 3-4). In the Berlin et al. system, lexeme forms are divided into two major groups: primary and secondary.

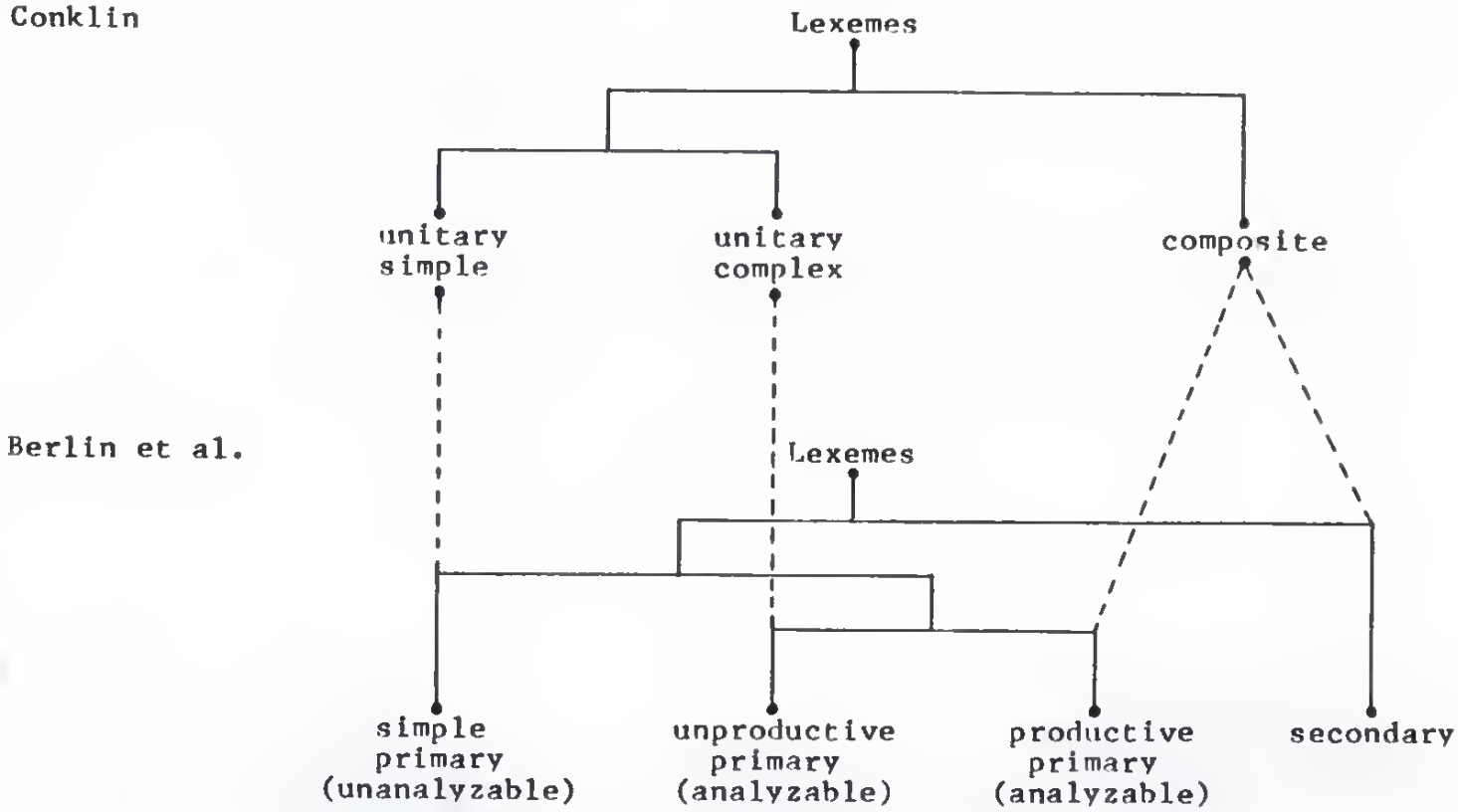

Figure 3-4
Lexeme Types--
Conklin versus Berlin et al.
(based upon information from Conklin 1962a;
Berlin et al. 1973, 1974; Hunn 1977)

Primary lexemes consist of three subtypes: simple, unproductive, and productive (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:27-28). Simple primary lexemes (referred to as "unitary simple lexemes" by Conklin [1962a:122]) are generally composed of a single unanalyzable, or unsegmentable, constituent (single root morpheme) (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:28). Examples in American English folk zoology include "fish," "duck," "squirrel," and "deer." In Cherokee, however, some of the animal names of this type are stems having a single root to which one or more affixes are attached. Both unproductive (or "unitary complex lexemes" [Conklin 1962a:122]) and productive primary lexemes are complex analyzable forms consisting of more than one root morpheme: Among the former, no part of the name designates a class superordinate to the one in question (e.g., in American English folk zoology, "sea cow" is not a kind of "cow"), and, in the latter, one of the constituents indicates a superordinate class (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:28).

Secondary lexemes are structurally identical to productive primary forms, and thus both are referred to as "composite lexemes" by Conklin (1962a:122). Berlin and his associates (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:28), however, differentiate between the two types. Productive primary lexemes occur in contrast sets with simple and unproductive primary lexemes (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:28) (e.g., in American English folk zoology, "rattlesnake" is a kind of

"snake" and directly contrasts with such classes as "racer," "copperhead," and "kingsnake"). Secondary lexemes, on the other hand, are found in contrast sets in which all other members are also secondary lexemes sharing the same superordinate label (Berlin et al. 1973:217, 1974:28) (e.g., in American English folk zoology, "black bear," "grizzly bear," "Alaskan brown bear," and "polar bear" label the entire subdivision of "bears" in North America).

The results of the various foregoing procedures are incorporated into the presentation of the individual descriptive accounts of the Cherokee animal names. These lexical data are subsequently summarized in terms of the four major aspects of the nomenclatural analysis: noun categories, linguistic processes in name formation, general semantic patterns, and lexeme types. Such data summaries are presented in a format quite similar to that used in the folk biological studies by Brent Berlin et al. (1974:37-45) and Eugene Hunn (1977:82-99).

A number of additional analytical terms are employed throughout the presentation of the nomenclatural and, at times, the classificatory data and are therefore defined here as specifically used in this study. Lexical variants are forms that have the same meaning and thus serve as labels for the same animal class; they differ only in phonemic detail or, in the case of secondary lexemes, the attributive used, or are alternate onomatopoetic renditions (Hunn 1977:132) (e.g., in American English folk zoology,

"opossum" and "possum"). Lexical synonyms are also semantically equivalent forms but are phonemically and etymologically distinct (Casson 1981:77-78; Conklin 1962a:130; Frake 1961:116-117; Hunn 1977:132; Kay 1971:880) (e.g., in American English folk zoology, "snake" and "serpent," or "woodchuck" and "groundhog"). Lexical "alternate classifications" are synonyms that differ in lexeme type (primary versus secondary), thereby implying that their referent animal class may belong to two different folk biological categories (generic and specific, respectively; see the subsequent section on classification in this chapter), depending upon which linguistic label is used (cf. Hunn 1977:132 for a similar, though not identical, definition) (e.g., in American English folk zoology, "osprey" and "fish hawk"). Finally, polysemous words are forms that consist of multiple, though related, meanings (Casson 1981:78; Conklin 1962a:130; Frake 1961:119; Kay 1971:875,881). (For example, in American English folk zoology, "animal" has two meanings: a general one, referring to the entire animal domain, and a more restricted one, referring to mammals in contrast to other kinds of animals.)

Cultural Significance

The second stage of the semantic domain analysis entails a detailed perusal of recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts for information

pertaining to the significance of various recognized fauna in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture. For purposes of this study, cultural significance (importance), or practical value, is defined as the totality (variety, frequency, and conceived value) of human behavioral and attitudinal responses to recognized animal classes. This broad perspective encompasses utilization plus beliefs, knowledge, and feelings (cf. Hays 1974:196-201,309-313,555-563, 1982:91-92 for a similar, though not identical, definition).

The role of animals in Cherokee daily secular life is presented first. Native animals are discussed in terms of the fishing and hunting methods and implements employed in their procurement as well as the variety of products, food and nonfood (clothing and tools), derived from each animal. Old World animals, introduced as a result of European contact, are subsequently examined, particularly regarding their gradual integration into the Cherokee culture and the kinds of uses--such as food, means of transport, and trade --to which they were put. Finally, methods of preservation and preparation of foods obtained from both native and introduced animals as well as cultural patterns pertaining to their consumption are delineated.

The significance of animals in Cherokee ideology and ritual is examined next. A summary discussion of Cherokee beliefs, knowledge, and practices is presented, followed by detailed descriptions of each animal in terms of its

role(s) within these traditions. Moreover, since the Cherokee view of the universe as a tripartite system is a theme pervading much of their folklore, the individual accounts of the various fauna are arranged according to the division, or world, with which each animal was generally associated.

Classification

The third stage of the semantic domain analysis involves a reconstruction of the classifications constituting the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee folk zoological system based upon inferences drawn primarily from the nomenclatural evidence, and, in some instances, from other kinds of linguistic data, as well as from information pertaining to cultural significance. In this study, classification is defined as the grouping of entities, that is, individual animal organisms, into classes according to certain criteria and specification of the kinds of relations among these classes established and subsequently named (Bruner et al. 1956:1; Mayr 1969:4; Simpson 1945:3, 1961:9,18-19). The methodology employed here serves as a means of ascertaining and delineating each of the recognized faunal classes as well as their overall integration as a coherent and unified system, the animal semantic domain.

Structural frameworks and arrangements

The overall organization of the Cherokee animal semantic domain, or folk zoological system, is represented by a variety of possible classificatory arrangements, that is, different cognitive orderings of constituent classes into larger groupings. Such arrangements appear to be organized according to particular structural frameworks, or models, each of which is based upon certain type(s) of semantic relations. Although a number of these structural frameworks have been defined (Casagrande and Hale 1967; Casson 1981:75-77,80-83; Colby et al. 1981; Conklin 1962a, 1962b, 1964; Frake 1961, 1962a, 1964a; Kay 1966, 1971; Sturtevant 1964; Tyler 1969:6-13,25-27, 1978), only a few have been extensively explored in ethnographic semantic studies. These models and the kinds of arrangements generated by them are briefly summarized here before discussing in more detail those specifically used in analyzing Cherokee classifications.

Taxonomies, the most frequently reported structural form, involve the ordering of conceptual classes, generally called taxon or taxa (plural), into a hierarchy of levels according to relations of contrast (mutually exclusive units along a horizontal dimension) and strict inclusion ("kind of" relation vertically) (Casson 1981:75-77; Conklin 1962a, 1962b, 1964; Frake 1961, 1962a, 1964a; Gregg 1954; Kay 1966, 1971; Sturtevant 1964; Tyler 1969:7-10,26, 1978). These commonly occur in folk biological domains (see Berlin

et al. 1974; Hunn 1977). (For example, in American English folk zoology, "dog" contrasts with "cat," but both are kinds of "mammal.")

Partonomies also consist of hierarchically positioned classes but entail part-whole ("part of," "member of," or "ingredient of"), that is, constituent associations (Brown 1976; Brown et al. 1976; Casson 1981:82; Conklin 1962a, 1962b; Frake 1964a; McClure 1975; Stark 1969; Tyler 1978:201-202,267-271), and are most characteristic of folk human anatomical systems (see Brown 1976; Brown et al. 1976; McClure 1975; Stark 1969). (For example, among American English speakers, "fingers" are parts of "hands," and "hands" are parts of "arms.") Other domains studied include Western Apache "automobile" (Basso 1967), Seattle tramp "city jail," or "the bucket" (Spradley 1970), and Subanun "yeast cake" (Frake 1964a) partonomies.

Additional structural frameworks for organizing classes have been investigated, though less frequently. Contingencies are based upon conditional or dependent semantic relations, including the following: cause and effect (Casson 1981:82), as in disease domains (for example, American belief that "germs" cause "infection," which, in turn, causes "fever," "runny nose," and "sore throat" [D'Andrade 1976:175]); prerequisite and outcome (see Agar 1975; Casagrande and Hale 1967; Metzger and Williams 1963) (for example, "sleep" is a necessary antecedent of "dreams" [Casagrande and Hale 1967:187]);

mutual concomitants (for example, "smoke" accompanies "fire" [Casson 1981:82]); and stages ("stage of") in a process (stages related by succession through time to a whole consummated in the terminal stage) (Casson 1981:82; Tyler 1978:202). This last relation is illustrated by phases in the human life cycle--"child," "adolescent," "adult," "old age"--as well as by detailed accounts of particular kinds of events: procedures carried out by American "street junkies" for "getting off" (injecting heroin) (Agar 1974); major steps undergone by Seattle street tramps when "making the bucket" (getting arrested and sent to jail) (Spradley 1970); sequence of ceremonies constituting a Tenejapa Ladino wedding (Metzger and Williams 1963); and stages of drinking and talking in Subanun "beer" drinking encounters (Frake 1964b).

Functional classifications entail instrumental associations in which material phenomena are defined as the means for performing or accomplishing certain actions or tasks (Casson 1981:82). Thus, the British divide "familiar animals" into four major groups: "pets," domestic animals that are never eaten, such as "dog" and "cat"; "farm animals," domestic animals raised and used for food, such as "cow" for its milk and "chicken" for its eggs; "game," nondomestic animals hunted and consumed, such as "deer" and "grouse"; and "wild animals," nondomestic animals considered inedible, such as "elephant" (Leach 1964).

Networks are formed by complex interlinkages of many types of semantic relations (Agar 1974, 1975; Casson 1981:82-83; Frake 1964a; Werner and Topper 1976; Williams 1966). Hence, the classes involved in Subanun "beer" making (Frake 1964a) and the heroin addict's "getting off" (Agar 1974, 1975) are connected by a combination of inclusion, constituent, stage-process, instrumental, and several other relations.

While the foregoing is concerned with the organization of classes, other kinds of structural frameworks delineate ordered relations among the relevant features, or components (also referred to as criterial attributes or significata), that constitute the distinctive meaning of each of these classes. These features thus are the means by which such classes are differentiated. Each class, therefore, is defined as a set or bundle of features, or components, of meaning, which, in turn, are expressed as qualities or values along particular semantic dimensions underlying the entire domain (for example, female and male are contrasting features on the dimension of gender, and big and small are contrasting features on the dimension of size within the animal semantic domain of many cultures).

Paradigms (the end product of the method of componential analysis) are models in which the definition of each class is based upon the simultaneous intersection of a number of features (Casson 1981:83-87; Chafe 1962; Colby 1966; Conklin 1962a, 1962b, 1964; Frake 1961, 1962a;

Goodenough 1956; Kay 1966; Lounsbury 1956, 1964a; Sturtevant 1964; Tyler 1969:8-10,26, 1978:272-275; Wallace 1962; Wallace and Atkins 1960). Such frameworks have been primarily described in kinship systems (see Burling 1963, 1965; Goodenough 1956; Lounsbury 1956, 1964a, 1964b; Wallace and Atkins 1960). (For example, in American English, mother is Ego's female relative of the first ascending generation in the same, or direct, line of ascent, whereby these three features are qualities on the semantic dimensions of gender, generation, and lineality, respectively [Wallace and Atkins 1960:61-62].)

In trees, on the other hand, criterial attributes of each class are ordered by means of sequential contrast; that is, successive choices are made between two alternative (generally opposite) features of particular semantic dimensions, each dimension being examined one at a time (Conklin 1962a, 1962b, 1964; Kay 1966; Mayr 1969:276-279; Porter 1967:82-85; Simpson 1961:13-16; Tyler 1969:10-11,26, 1978:192-195,258-263). Although such dichotomous arrangements are relatively rare in native classification schemes, they are frequently employed for the purpose of identification as in the construction of zoological and botanical keys by western systematists (see DeBlase and Martin 1981; Glass 1951; Porter 1967). (For example, among American English speakers, if a mammal is small, feeds on plants, has ears longer than its tail, and has densely furred feet, it is a rabbit; if a mammal is small and feeds

on plants, but has ears shorter than its tail and has feet that are not densely furred, it is a rodent.)

Several additional models for ordering classes and/or features have been described. These include lists (Tyler 1978:255-256), indices (Conklin 1962a, 1964; Tyler 1978:257-258), typologies (Conklin 1964; Tyler 1978:274-275), and clusters (Tyler 1978:281-283). More still remain to be discovered and explored (Ellen 1979:6-7).

It should be noted, however, that the types of structural frameworks possible are relatively few in number in contrast to the infinite variety of arrangements generated by them (Tyler 1969:25). Within the boundaries of a single domain, constituent classes may belong simultaneously to many distinct, frequently overlapping and/or crosscutting, classificatory arrangements, which, in turn, may be organized according to the same or several different types of models (Anderson 1967; Berlin et al. 1974; Conklin 1962a, 1962b; Gilmour 1951; Miller 1975; Perchonock and Werner 1969; Simpson 1961:25-27). This diversity of arrangements is effected through shifts in the number and kinds of semantic dimensions and relevant features selected (apportioned greater weight) to define and distinguish among the conceptual classes (Bulmer 1974b:93; Ellen 1979:8-11).

Although a single unique arrangement is relatively rare, one form, however, must be primary and must encompass the entire domain, serving as a "general purpose"

classification upon which the nomenclature is based (Simpson 1961:27). Such a classificatory scheme is comprised of classes whose criterial attributes fall along many semantic dimensions and hence is applicable to a wide range of potential uses. The coexisting arrangements, on the other hand, are secondarily adopted and are frequently "special purpose" classifications, which pertain to all or only part of a domain. Although different, each "special purpose" arrangement involves classes with relevant features on usually one or, at most, a few dimensions and reflects only those interests pertinent to the more limited intentions for which it was constructed (Berlin et al. 1966:274-275; Bulmer 1970:1086-1088; Gilmour 1951; Hays 1982:90, 1983:593-594; Hunn 1977:47; Simpson 1961:26-27; Sokal 1974:1118).

In folk biological systems, "general" classifications are usually taxonomies in which classes are primarily defined by multiple criterial attributes of gross morphology (physical appearance); "special" classifications may stem from taxonomic and/or other structural frameworks, with classes created from a limited number of relevant features (Bulmer 1970:1086-1088; Hays 1982:90, 1983:593-594; Hunn 1977:47; Simpson 1961:26-27). Moreover, it should be noted that the former type of arrangement usually involves classes based upon relationships among the animals themselves, that is, criterial attributes internal to the

domain, or intrinsic features, such as those of physical appearance; "special" schemes, however, often entail the recognition of classes according to their relationship to external, or contextual, features, such as those of habitat or cultural utility (Simpson 1961:26-27).

"General" classification

The "general" classification of the Cherokee animal semantic domain is reconstructed first and is described in detail. As in most folk biological systems studied thus far, the Cherokee "general purpose" arrangement is organized according to a taxonomic structural framework, whereby individual animal organisms are grouped into classes, or taxa, that are hierarchically ordered by relations of contrast and inclusion. These taxa are defined and differentiated on the basis of numerous readily observable criterial attributes of physical appearance (features on a multiplicity of dimensions, including size, shape, color, and surface texture) and, at times, behavior (pattern of locomotion and feeding habit). Moreover, the Cherokee arrangement seems to conform to several generalizations formulated by Berlin and his collaborators, who have further proposed that they are applicable to most, if not all, folk biological taxonomies (Berlin 1972, 1973, 1976, 1978; Berlin et al. 1973, 1974:25-37; Raven et al. 1971). These "universal" principles of classification and nomenclature are summarized here and serve as the

analytical schema for presenting the Cherokee "general" animal classification, or folk taxonomy.

According to their model, folk taxa are further grouped into five, or sometimes six, ethnobiological, or folk biological, categories (often referred to as "ranks") --unique beginner, life form, intermediate, generic, specific, and varietal--which are, to a certain extent, comparable to those of western systematics, e.g., kingdom, class, order, genus, and species. Such categories are arranged hierarchically (Figure 3-5), with the taxa assigned to each one being mutually exclusive and exhibiting similar taxonomic (relative position, or level, in hierarchy),[2] linguistic (primary or secondary lexemic label), biological (relative number of distinct western scientific species involved), and psychological (relative number of criterial attributes) characteristics (Berlin 1973:260, 1976:381, 1978:11; Berlin et al. 1973:214-215, 1974:25; Raven et al. 1971:1210). These folk biological categories are discussed in order of decreasing inclusiveness.

The unique beginner occurs at the highest level (Level 0) and consists of a single taxon that properly includes all other taxa of the domain in question. It is either labelled

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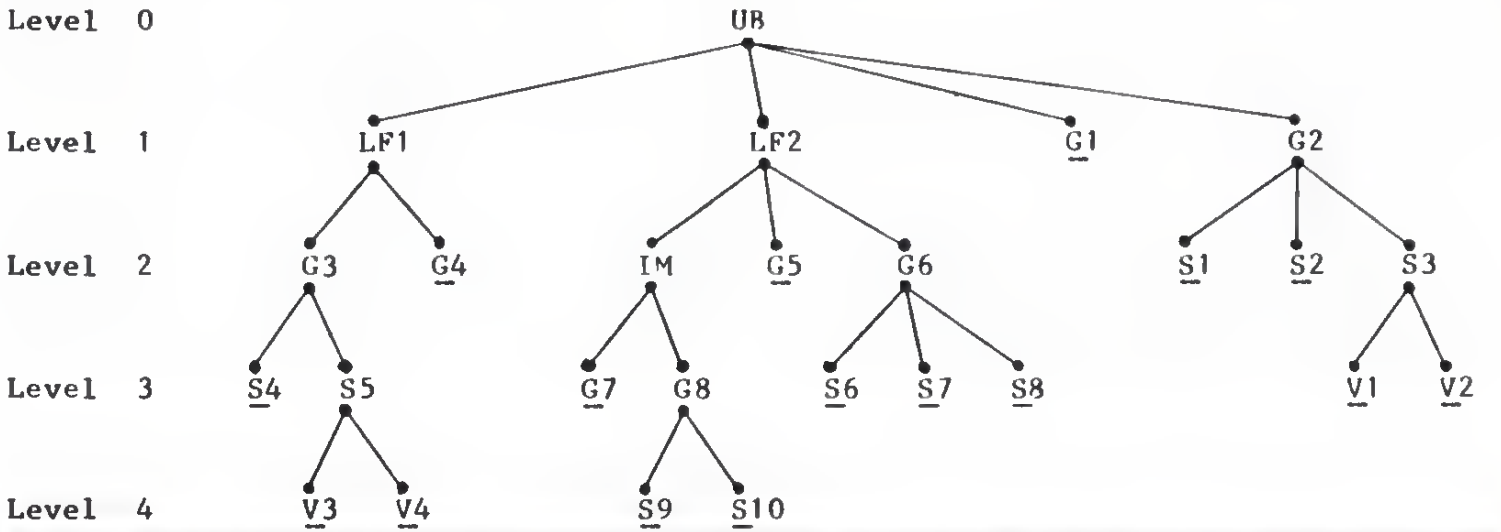
[2]It should be noted that, with the exception of the unique beginner and life forms, which occupy only Levels 0 and 1, respectively, taxa belonging to the same folk biological category may be found at several levels. Nevertheless, such folk biological categories always maintain the same relative order in the taxonomic hierarchy, e.g., generics are always above and immediately include specifics, etc.



Folk Biological Categories
UB = Unique Beginner
LF = Life Form
IM = Intermediate
G = Generic
S = Specific
V = Varietal

Terminal taxa are underlined.

Figure 3-5
Folk Taxonomic Structure--
Folk Biological Categories and Their Relative Hierarchical Levels
(based upon information from Berlin et al. 1973, 1974; Hunn 1975a)

by a primary lexeme (e.g., "animal" in American English folk zoology)[3] or, quite frequently, is not named at all (Berlin 1973:260,266-267, 1976:383-384, 1978:11-13; Berlin et al. 1973:215,218, 1974:25,26,28-29; Raven et al. 1971:1210).

Life form taxa are the next most inclusive category and occur only at Level 1. They are few in number, averaging between 5 and 10, and are invariably polytypic, encompassing most of the taxa of lesser "rank." Life form taxa demonstrate a high degree of internal biological diversity, i.e., each includes a large number of western scientific species, and are defined by relatively few gross morphological and/or behavioral features. Linguistically, they are always labelled by primary lexemes, usually simple primary lexemes (Berlin 1973:260-261,263-264, 1976:384-385, 1978:13-14; Berlin et al. 1973:215,218, 1974:25,26, 28,29; Raven et al. 1971:1210) (e.g., "fish," "bird," and "mammal").

Taxa of the generic category are by far the most numerous, ranging from 500 to 800 classes, and constitute the fundamental core of folk biological taxonomies. The majority is directly subsumed in one of the recognized life form taxa. The remaining generics, however, are considered aberrant classes, usually because of some unusual, or anomalous, morphological characteristic(s), and

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[3]All examples presented in this section are from American English folk zoology, unless otherwise specified.

are conceptualized either as ambiguously affiliated, that is, exhibiting criterial attributes of two life form taxa simultaneously (Berlin 1973:261, 1976:387, 1978:15; see Berlin et al. 1974:500-513) (e.g., "whale"), or as totally unaffiliated and separate, manifesting certain combinations of features quite different from those that typically define any of the life form taxa (Berlin 1973:261, 1976:387, 1978:15; Berlin et al. 1973:216, 1974:26-27; Raven et al. 1971:1210; see Berlin et al. 1974:415-499) (e.g., "jellyfish").

Generic taxa exhibit little internal biological variation, frequently corresponding rather closely with western scientific species, and are highly salient, being easily recognized on the basis of multiple morphological and/or behavioral criterial attributes. Furthermore, they may be the first taxa learned by children in the acquisition of biological terminology (Stross 1973).

Generic taxa are usually labelled by primary lexemes (e.g., "bass," "robin," and "bear"). A few may be designated by the same primary lexemic term that is applied to their respective superordinate life form (polysemy) and that, in certain cases, may be linguistically marked by the addition of a modifier glossed as 'genuine,' or 'real.' Such taxa are referred to as "type generics"; each serves as the central, or focal, member of a particular life form and is the most abundant, exhibits the widest geographical distribution, and/or is the best known in comparison to

all other member generics of that life form (Berlin 1972:66-71,81-82, 1973:263-264; see Almstedt 1968; Bright and Bright 1965:253,254; Bulmer 1968:622; Fowler and Leland 1967:387,390; Friedrich 1970:145-146; Gatschet 1890a: 145,146, 1890b:143,474,487, 1899; Hage and Miller 1976; Trager 1939).

Most generic taxa are monotypic and therefore are terminal; that is, they include no further subdivisions. Some, however, are polytypic and hence contain lower-level taxa (Berlin 1973:261,262-263, 1976:385-389, 1978:14-17; Berlin et al. 1973:215-216,217-218, 1974:25,26-27,28,29; Raven et al. 1971:1210).

Subgeneric taxa are members of the specific or varietal folk biological categories. They usually occur in contrast sets of two or three members that are differentiated in terms of morphological features on a very few, or even a single, semantic dimension (e.g., color --"gray fox" versus "red fox").

Specifics are immediately included in generic taxa and are usually labelled by binomial secondary lexemes (e.g., "blue jay"). Several, however, may be designated by monomial primary lexemic terms that are usually polysemous with the name of their respective superordinate generic and that, at times, may be linguistically marked by the modifier 'genuine,' or 'real.' Such taxa are either "type specifics," each being the central, or focal, member of a particular polytypic generic (Berlin 1972:59-65,

80-81, 1973:265, 1976:391, 1978:20; Berlin et al. 1973:224, 1974:34-35; Conklin 1954:259; see Anderson 1967:71; Berlin 1976:392, 1978:21; Berlin et al. 1973:224, 1974:34-35; Bulmer 1968:622; Gatschet 1899:160; Greene 1909:120-121; Hays 1983:595; Matthews 1886) (e.g., "gray squirrel" is often referred to as "squirrel"), or "residual categories," residue ("everything else" taxon) of a particular polytypic generic rather than a constituent of any other specific taxon in its contrast set (Berlin 1976:391, 1978:20; Hunn 1977:57-58; see Berlin 1976:392, 1978:21; Hays 1983:595).

Varietals are relatively rare but, when present, are subdivisions of polytypic specifics and are always terminal. They are labelled by trinomial secondary lexemes (Berlin 1973:261,264-266, 1976:389-394, 1978:17-23; Berlin et al. 1973:215,216,218-219, 1974:25,27,29; Raven et al. 1971:1210).

A sixth folk biological category involving intermediate taxa is sometimes recognized. Such taxa are mid-level classes and may occur between any two of the five aforementioned major "ranks"; nevertheless, they are usually positioned between life forms and generics. Intermediates are generally, though not always (see Hage and Miller 1976), unlabelled and hence are often referred to as "covert categories" (Berlin 1972:73-78, 1973:261-262, 1974, 1976:394-395, 1978:23; Berlin et al. 1968, 1973:216, 1974:27,59-61; Raven et al. 1971:1210-1211; see Berlin 1976:396, 1978:22; Bulmer 1974a:17, 1979:62; Hays 1974,

1976; Hunn 1975a, 1977) (e.g., "fowl-like birds" versus "birds of prey").

The foregoing folk biological taxonomic model, as devised by Berlin and his associates, is primarily based upon the premise that nomenclature is a fairly adequate guide to classification (for a contrasting viewpoint, see Bulmer 1965:1565, 1974a:23-24; Bulmer and Tyler 1968:334, 349,350; Conklin 1962a:121). More specifically, there appears to be a rather close correspondence between the semantic structure (lexeme type) of a name for an animal or plant taxon and that taxon's folk biological category, or "rank." Thus, primary lexemes usually occur (with those exceptions already noted) as labels for life form and generic taxa, and for the unique beginner, when named; secondary lexemes are (also with exceptions previously mentioned) restricted to specific and varietal taxa (Berlin 1973:262, 1976, 1978; Berlin et al. 1973:216-219,226, 1974:27-29,37). This correlation supports the statement made earlier that one classification (the "general purpose" arrangement; in this case, the folk biological taxonomy) encompasses the entire domain and therefore serves as the foundation upon which the nomenclature is based (Simpson 1961:27). The nomenclature, in turn, thus constitutes the major source of evidence for ascertaining and delineating the classificatory arrangement(s), especially the "general" one, in terms of both the classes recognized and the kinds of relations among such classes, of folk biological systems.

It should be noted, however, that, within folk biological taxonomies, there is rarely a perfect isomorphic association between the nomenclature and classification; that is, names do not always map in a one-to-one fashion to taxa. The possible occurrence of synonyms and/or polysemous forms as well as the occasional existence of unlabelled, or covert, taxa has already been indicated. Nevertheless, the classificatory analysis still rests heavily on nomenclatural information.

The Berlin et al. model has been successfully used in the investigation of a number of folk biological domains (see Hays 1974, 1979, 1983; Hunn 1975a, 1977). Several cognitive anthropologists, however, have expressed some difficulty in applying it to their own particular case studies (see Bulmer 1974a). Despite these criticisms, this analytical schema appears to be sufficient for purposes of the present study and is therefore employed as a means of representing the Cherokee "general" classification, or folk taxonomy.

First, a brief overview of the Cherokee "general" classificatory arrangement is presented in terms of the total number of taxa involved, their distribution among the several folk biological categories, and their position, or level, within the hierarchical structure. Next, the taxa occurring at each level are discussed in order of

decreasing inclusiveness. The unique beginner at Level 0 is followed by a summary of those taxa occupying Level 1: These include life forms as well as ambiguously affiliated complexes and unaffiliated complexes and generics, all of which constitute the major divisions of the Cherokee folk taxonomy. Each Level 1 taxon is then individually presented with a detailed description of its subsumed classes--intermediates, generics, and/or specifics--at Levels 2, 3, and 4.

Cross-cultural comparison

The next aspect of the classificatory analysis involves a cross-cultural comparison between the Cherokee "general" classification, or folk taxonomy, and that of western science (also referred to as the Linnaean classificatory system, or taxonomy). These two systems are analyzed from a relativistic standpoint, whereby they are considered as representing the cognitive orientation of two very different cultures and, consequently, as reflecting distinct world views.

The Cherokee folk taxonomy that is reconstructed in this study was a product of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee culture and was an important part of their orally transmitted traditions. Constituent taxa were primarily defined on the basis of criterial attributes of gross morphology.

The western scientific taxonomy, on the other hand, originated and developed within European intellectual

tradition over a period of several hundred years, as demonstrated by a number of early recorded lists and descriptions of recognized biological organisms (see Peeters 1979). It was finally codified in the mid-1700s by the Swedish naturalist Carl Linnaeus, who devised a standardized system of classification and nomenclature (Raven et al. 1971:1211; Walters 1962:207-209). His taxa were differentiated by means of morphological features. This system, though still used today, has been expanded and modified; moreover, since the mid-1800s, it has been supported by the theory of evolution (also a product of European culture), whereby taxa are based upon phylogenetic relationships (descent from common ancestor) as evidenced primarily by morphological characters (Mayr 1969:55-65,126-130; Simpson 1961:67-72).

Thus, a number of similarities may be exhibited by the Cherokee and western taxonomies as their constituent taxa are defined according to morphological features. Nevertheless, such features are weighted differently within each system, and, consequently, these classifications are distinct.

A comparative analysis of the two systems is presented. Their formal structure is briefly discussed, followed by a more detailed examination of their substantive nature, or internal content. Cherokee folk terminal taxa (monotypic generics and specifics) and western scientific species are selected as the basic units of comparison

(Berlin et al. 1966; Bulmer 1970). For the former, a number of terminal taxa are excluded for reasons either of being mythical and/or not present in the Cherokee area during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries or of being not sufficiently well defined in terms of scientific taxa. For western taxa, the inventory is restricted to those species, both native and introduced, that were present in the Cherokee area, especially in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, the specific geographical focus of this study, during the time period under consideration (subset of the total western science classificatory system), and is based upon comprehensive faunal lists compiled by western zoological systematists. Two analytical measures are employed, including the degree of correspondence between folk terminal taxa and scientific species, and the relative animal diversity exhibited by the two taxonomic systems.

In the first approach, three major kinds of correspondences may possibly occur between folk and scientific taxa. They are referred to as one-to-one correspondence, lesser differentiation, and greater differentiation. One-to-one correspondence is defined as the mapping of a single folk terminal taxon to one, and only one, scientific species. Lesser differentiation exists when a single folk terminal taxon corresponds to two or more scientific species and is divided into two types: In Type 1, a single folk terminal taxon refers to two or

more species of the same scientific genus; in Type 2, a single folk terminal taxon refers to two or more species of two or more scientific genera. Greater differentiation entails the mapping of two or more folk terminal taxa to a single scientific species (Berlin 1973:267-269; Berlin et al. 1966, 1974:100-103). The distribution of Cherokee folk terminal taxa according to these three kinds of correspondences is presented with examples.

The second substantive measure entails a comparison of the relative amount of animal diversity contained in the folk and science taxonomic systems. Relative diversity is defined here as the number of folk terminal taxa vis-a-vis that of scientific species recognized within each of the major taxonomic groupings, or divisions, and is expressed in the form of a percentage. This analysis is limited to the examination of vertebrate fauna. (Invertebrates are not considered because a complete inventory of the total number of such western species present in the Cherokee area would be cumbersome and is, moreover, irrelevant to most zooarchaeological analyses.) Cherokee folk terminal taxa and western scientific species are first sorted with respect to their inclusion among the major Cherokee taxonomic groupings and are then reapportioned in terms of fundamental western taxonomic divisions. Their totals for each major taxonomic grouping are then compared, and percentages of relative diversity are determined (see Hunn 1980:2).

"Special" classifications

The "special," or alternative, classifications of the Cherokee animal semantic domain constitute the final aspect of the classificatory stage of the analysis. These "special purpose" arrangements are organized according to nonhierarchical (nontaxonomic) structural frameworks. Their classes are defined and differentiated on the basis of a limited number of relevant features other than those of overall physical appearance. These classes may overlap with one another when such arrangements are combined and, at times, may crosscut taxa of the "general" taxonomy. Furthermore, in contrast to the latter arrangement, "special" classifications pertain to only parts of the entire domain and are, in the majority of cases, not inferred from the animal nomenclature but rather gleaned from other kinds of linguistic evidence as well as from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts.

Fifteen "special" classificatory arrangements are described as ascertained from the various data sources. These tend to be fairly small and consist of classes based upon such features as those of habitat, cultural utility (edibility, wild/domestic, and native/introduced), and animal behavior (mode of reproduction, pattern of locomotion, feeding habit, and diurnal/nocturnal). Some of these classifications may be incomplete, and, in such cases, only a partial reconstruction is presented.

Synthesis of Results of Semantic Domain Analysis and Zooarchaeological Implications

The fourth and final stage of the semantic domain analysis entails examining the Cherokee animal nomenclature and classifications as an alternative means of gaining insight into the significance of various recognized fauna within the Cherokee culture. These inferences are integrated with more direct information previously derived in stage two of the analysis from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts. Together they serve as the basis for generating implications regarding the Cherokee zooarchaeological record.

First, a standard measure of cultural significance is established using the data previously obtained in the second analytical stage. Each animal terminal taxon is quantitatively evaluated, or scored, in terms of the number of distinct Cherokee behavioral and attitudinal responses associated with it. Based upon their total counts, these individual terminal taxa are subsequently grouped according to a quadripartite typology of relative cultural significance, or importance: none, minor, moderate, and major. The scores and the resultant categorization, in turn, are used for comparisons among these faunal taxa.

A note of caution is essential regarding the use of these calculated scores as indices of cultural significance, or importance. The measure presented here encompasses a limited definition of significance in that it indicates only

the number of kinds of responses corresponding with each animal terminal taxon. These responses are given equal weight and are neither evaluated individually nor differentiated according to their own relative frequency of occurrence or conceived value. As a consequence, a high score may include several responses that occurred in relatively few contexts; for instance, the meat of a particular animal was consumed only once a year at an annual religious festival or served merely as a supplementary food source. A low tally, on the other hand, may entail a single response that, in turn, was of paramount importance; for example, an animal's flesh formed the mainstay of the daily diet. Nevertheless, the proposed scale may be appropriately applied to the data in the present study: According to recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts, this measure seems, for the most part, to accurately reflect the relative significance, or importance, of each animal taxon within the Cherokee culture (animals with high scores, thereby representing a variety of associated behavioral/attitudinal responses, also tend to have been the most frequently used and/or most highly valued).

The second procedure entails delineating the ways in which the animal nomenclature serves as an index of cultural significance. The results previously obtained from certain major aspects of the nomenclatural analysis--noun categories, linguistic processes in name formation, and

general semantic patterns--are examined for information such as relative degree of significance, or importance, and kinds of uses of particular animal terminal taxa.

Next, the animal classifications are similarly considered. Several major parts of the classificatory analysis--cross-cultural comparison (folk/science correspondences and relative diversity) and "special" classifications--are investigated for any possible indications of cultural significance supplementary to those ascertained in the nomenclature.

Finally, the zooarchaeological implications are presented. Ten implications are listed, each followed by a specification of the data and/or analyses upon which it was based.

The foregoing methodological procedures for analyzing the protohistoric Cherokee animal semantic domain are summarized in a flow diagram (Figure 3-6). This particular order of analysis is employed throughout the present study.

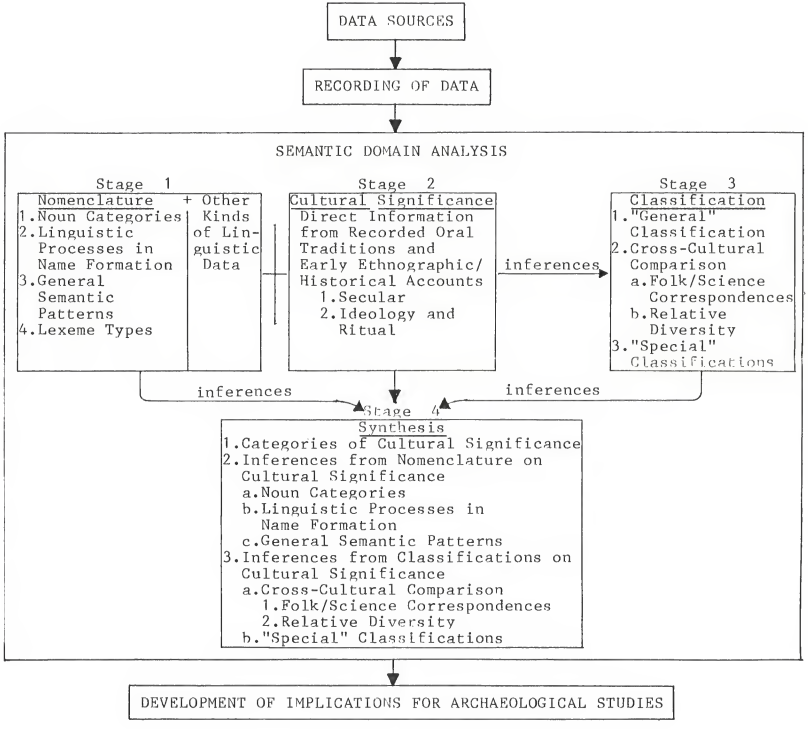

Figure 3-6
Summary of Methodology

CHAPTER 4
CHEROKEE ANIMAL NOMENCLATURE

> A word is a microcosm of human consciousness.
>
> Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (1962:153)

Introduction-- Organization of the Animal Names

The animal nomenclature of the Cherokee language spoken during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is presented as derived from sources dating to approximately that time period. The names, or lexical terms, are organized according to major western science classificatory divisions. Furthermore, the lineal ordering of the names within each of these groupings is also primarily based upon western zoological systematics (American Fisheries Society [AFS] 1980; American Ornithologists' Union [AOU] 1983; Borror et al. 1981; Entomological Society of America [ESA] 1978; Hall 1981; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979; Lee et al. 1980; Schmidt 1953). This ordering is modified, however, whenever literal meanings provide information regarding a close relationship

between certain Cherokee animal classes; in such cases, the names are placed adjacent to one another.

The overall partitioning and sequence of the names, therefore, are arbitrary from the Cherokee point of view. Such an arrangement, of course, is not necessarily more correct, but the approach is the most appropriate given the limitation of the data. This method of presentation should not be allowed to influence interpretations of the Cherokee animal world view discussed in subsequent chapters.

Conventions on the Arrangement of Individual Descriptive Accounts of Cherokee Animal Names

The Cherokee animal names are individually discussed in the next section. Each entry is arranged in the following format:

-Cherokee animal name, in boldface print, in the phonemic orthography of the Overhill Cherokee dialect.

-English gloss, in single quotation marks.

-Linguistic analysis of the lexical term. First, the presentation of the term in square brackets: Morpheme constituents are printed between slant lines and their glosses, when known, in single quotation marks; other information given includes whether the term is a borrowed form and, if so, the source language. Second, a literal gloss, when applicable, for the entire term. Third, the form(s) from which the term is derived, if known. Fourth,

the noun category: uninflected, inflected, or derived noun, or composite term. And finally, the type of lexeme: primary or secondary.

-Other meanings of the lexical term, in single quotation marks, i.e., semantic extensions.

-Secondary, or alternate, names: lexical variants, lexical synonyms, and lexical "alternate classifications." Linguistic analysis of such names is given in the same format as primary names.

-Terms for the female, male, and/or young of the animal class and analysis of their morpheme constituents.

-Possible referents--English common name and Latin name for corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa present in the Cherokee area, especially in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, the specific geographical focus of this study, during the time period under consideration (see Appendix A [Table A-4]). The hierarchical level of each taxon within the western science, or Linnaean, taxonomic system is indicated in the Latin names as follows: Phylum and class are written in capital letters; superfamily, family, and subfamily display the standard suffixes -oidea, -idae, and -inae, respectively; genus and species are underlined. All other levels (e.g., order, suborder, and tribe) are explicitly noted.

-Brief discussion of the Cherokee animal name and its referent: relationship between the literal meaning and the

physical appearance and/or behavior of the animal; descriptive accounts of the animal as given by the Cherokee and/or by the early investigator(s), and the use of such information in order to determine the corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa, and problems thereof; and data recorded involving Cherokee classification(s) and/or beliefs regarding the animal.

Considerations of space and readability have led to the use of a number of abbreviations in the lexical data entries.

Cherokee Animal Names

The Cherokee animal world may be defined by the entirety of faunal classes recognized by the Cherokee people and generally provided with linguistic labels, or names, in the language. This is called hereafter the Cherokee animal semantic domain.

'Animal' Cover Terms

The Cherokee language does not have a general term for 'animal' that is inclusive of all the fauna recognized by the Cherokee people. Nevertheless, several pairs of words exist that refer exclusively to animals and that therefore provide direct linguistic evidence for the conceptualization of such a domain.

Wild versus domestic animal

inagehi 'wild animal' lit. 'forest dweller'

ulvnida 'domestic animal' 'tame'

These two terms may be added to the names of particular animals, if necessary, in order to distinguish native wild animals from the domestic animals introduced following European contact (Gallatin 1836:401; Mooney 1885:115,120, 1891:373, 1900a:280-281,522,542).

Female versus male animal

agisi (sg.) 'female animal'
anigisi (pl.)

achvya (sg.) 'male animal' e.g., rooster, boar.
anichvya (pl.)

jukanvstahli 'male animal' e.g., stallion, buck, ram, bull.

Young versus old animal

alda (sg.) 'young animal (born in litter or hatched, i.e., multiple birth)'
anida (pl.)

agina (sg.) 'young animal (single birth)'
anigina (pl.)

agayvli (sg.) 'old animal'
anigayvli (pl.)

All the foregoing terms for gender and age may be used either alone, thereby referring to animals in a general sense, or in conjunction with an animal name, i.e., specific referent.

Invertebrates

This group consists of invertebrates, corresponding to western scientific taxa primarily within the phylum ARTHROPODA (class CRUSTACEA, CHILOPODA, INSECTA, and ARACHNIDA) and, in several instances, within other lower phyla, i.e., PLATYHELMINTHES, NEMATODA, MOLLUSCA, and ANNELIDA. It is split into two subdivisions: insects/worms/spiders and "fish" invertebrates.

Insects/worms/spiders

tsgoya (sg. and pl.) 'insect' 'worm' [NR] UN, SPL.
insect, ARTHROPODA:INSECTA;
land snail, MOLLUSCA:GASTROPODA;
leech, ANNELIDA:HIRUDINEA;
centipede, ARTHROPODA:CHILOPODA;
tick, ARTHROPODA:ARACHNIDA:order Acari.

This is a general term referring to all small insects, their larvae, and worms, with the exception of 'intestinal worms' (Mooney 1885:125, 1891:361, 1900a:308,537; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:29). It may possibly also encompass land snails, leeches, centipedes, and ticks.

aninohilidohi 'flying insects' 'flying birds' 'flyers' (see Birds)

ujiya (sg.) 'earthworm' 'intestinal worm'
[/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-jiya/ 'earthworm' NR] IN, SPL.
unijiya (pl.)
flatworm, PLATYHELMINTHES;
nematode, NEMATODA;
earthworm, ANNELIDA:OLIGOCHAETA.

This term refers specifically to the earthworm as well as to those intestinal worms that may be human parasites (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:215) (e.g., flatworms and

nematodes). The Cherokee considered the **ujiya** as separate from rather than as a kind of **tsgoya** (Mooney 1891:361; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:29) (see Chapter 7).

elagwa 'snail' [NR] UN, SPL.
land snail, MOLLUSCA:GASTROPODA.

This term refers to land snails.

dlanusi (sg. and pl.) 'leech' [NR] UN, SPL.
leech, ANNELIDA:HIRUDINEA.

juganoji (sg.) 'centipede' [/j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /ganoji/ 'leather' NR] IN, SPL.
juniganoji (pl.)
centipede, ARTHROPODA:CHILOPODA.

The noun root, when uninflected, means 'leather' (Feeling 1975:110,208). The association between the centipede and leather may possibly be based upon their toughness of material.

The following terms refer to invertebrate classes, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the phylum ARTHROPODA, class INSECTA.

wadaduga (sg. and pl.) 'dragonfly' [NR] UN, SPL.
dragonfly, order Odonata:suborder Anisoptera.

This is a general term referring to dragonflies (Mooney 1885:125).

ganvnowa (sg. and pl.) 'type of dragonfly' [NR] UN, SPL. 'pipe'
one or several species of dragonfly, order Odonata:suborder Anisoptera sp(p).

The corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa cannot be determined based upon the information available.

The term **ganvnowa** also means 'pipe' (Mooney 1885:125), possibly because of a similarity in shape.

tolatsga (sg. and pl.) 'grasshopper' [NR] UN, SPL. grasshopper, order Orthoptera.

sigigi (sg. and pl.) 'katydid' [ono] UN, SPL. katydid, Tettigoniidae.

This term is onomatopoetic (Brown 1938a:535; Hewitt 1887:41; Mooney 1885:125, 1900a:537), resembling the sound made by the katydid (Alexander and Borror n.d.; Gaul 1960).

taladu 'cricket' [NR] UN, SPL.
didasdoyesgi--lexical synonym. [/di-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ada-/ refl. + /-sdoye-/ 'cut hair' VR + /-sg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'cutter' [</asdoyeha/ 'he/she is cutting hair'] DN, SPL. 'barber'
field cricket, Acheta assimilis (Fabricius).

The lexical synonym **didasdoyesgi** 'barber' is sometimes applied to the cricket (Brown 1938a:530; Marnett 1939:4; Mooney 1885:125, 1900a:309,516,533) and refers to this insect's habit of gnawing hair from furs (Davis 1910:39, 1937:16; Mooney 1900a:269,309) (see Chapter 6).

gahlgwogi 'mole cricket' [ono < Muskogean 'seven'] UN, SPL. 'seven'
mole cricket, Gryllotalpa hexadactyla Perty.

The mole cricket has a bass voice and sings a low-pitched song while at the entrance of its burrow, which is usually found in swampy areas or along marshy streams (Alexander and Borror n.d.). The term **gahlgwogi** is probably onomatopoetic, resembling this insect's song, which, in turn, is similar to the Cherokee word for 'seven'

(Mooney 1900a:309,520). The name, in the latter sense, may have been borrowed from the Muskogean language family (Haas 1961:22; Lounsbury 1961:15), i.e., Creek kulvpaken 'seven' (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:70,92,153), probably prior to European contact (King and King 1976:59).

tina (sg. and pl.) 'louse' [NR] UN, SPL.
human louse, Pediculidae?

This term may possibly refer to human lice. (See **tinegwa** 'mole.')

galuysdi 'bed bug' [/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-luy-/ 'chop' VR + /-sd-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS] lit. 'chopper' [</galuysga/ 'he/she is chopping it'] DN, SPL. 'stone axe' 'metal axe'
bed bug, Cimicidae.

This term originally was derived from the verb 'to chop' and was used to mean 'stone axe.' Following European contact, the word **galuysdi** was expanded in meaning to signify 'metal axe' and 'bed bug' (King and King 1976:60). The explanation for the association between this insect and the term's other meanings remains undetermined.

lolo (sg. and pl.) 'cicada' 'jar-fly' [ono]
UN, SPL.
dog-day cicada, Tibicen auletes (Germar).

This insect is identified as Cicada auletes (Mooney 1900a:308,526), which is the old western scientific name for the dog-day cicada, Tibicen auletes (Davis 1942). The term **lolo** is probably onomatopoetic, resembling the sound made by the male cicada (Gaul 1960).

vle (sg. and pl.) 'locust' [ono?] UN, SPL. periodical cicada, Magicicada septendecim (Linnaeus)?

This term probably refers to a cicada (Ulmer and Beck 1951:56), quite possibly the periodical cicada, the male of which has a distinctive vocalization (Gaul 1960). Most of the sources, however, give the gloss as 'locust.' It should be noted that the English common names "cicada" and "locust" are often used interchangeably, i.e., cicadas are, at times, locally called locusts (Gaul 1960), though they denote completely different kinds of insects within western scientific taxonomy: "Locust" is a synonym for the short-horned grasshopper, family Acrididae (or Locustidae), in the order Orthoptera (Borror et al. 1981:216,220-224; Borror and White 1970:78,392); the cicada, family Cicadidae, is in the order Homoptera (Borror et al. 1981:317-321; Borror and White 1970:129-130).

tsgoya uyasgvhdi (sg.) 'beetle' [/tsgoya/ 'insect' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-yasga/ 'shell' NR + /gvhdi/ 'with' PT] lit. 'insect with shell' CT, PPL.
tsgoya uniyasgvhdi (pl.)
beetle, order Coleoptera.

This is a general term referring to beetles. The 'shell' relates to the structure of their front wings, which are usually thickened, leathery, or hard and brittle (Borror et al. 1981:356).

doyunisi 'water beetle' 'mellow bug' [/doya/ 'beaver' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nisi/ 'paternal grandchild or grandparent' NR] lit. 'beaver's grandchild' CT, UPL.
whirligig beetle, Gyrinidae.

This term may refer either to Dineutus discolor Aube (Mooney 1900a:308,515) and/or to Gyrinus spp. (King 1975:150,212,278; Mooney 1900a:430); both genera are in the whirligig beetle family, Gyrinidae. The gyrinid is an oval black beetle that is commonly seen swimming in a gyrating fashion on the surface of ponds and quiet streams. It is a rapid swimmer and is equally at home above or beneath the water's surface (Borror et al. 1981:393; Borror and White 1970:154). The association between the beaver and the water beetle may be an environmental one as both are aquatic animals, unlike most other mammals and insects, respectively. Furthermore, the term may be implying a size differential as well as a protective relationship.

ahwi (sg. and pl.) 'large horned beetle' [NR] UN, SPL. 'deer' (see **ahwi** 'deer')
galagina--lexical synonym. 'buck' 'gobbler' (see **ahwi** 'deer' and **gvna** 'turkey')
jisdvna--lexical synonym. 'crayfish' (see **jisdvna** 'crayfish')
stag beetle, ARTHROPODA:INSECTA:Lucanidae;
white-tailed deer, CHORDATA:MAMMALIA:Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert).

These three terms refer primarily to the deer, buck/gobbler, and crayfish, respectively, and are secondarily defined as 'large horned beetle' (Mooney 1900a:308,463,511,518,537). The latter is questionably identified as the eastern Hercules beetle, Dynastes tityus (Linnaeus) (Mooney 1900a:308,518); the male of this species

bears horns on its head and/or on its pronotum (Borror et al. 1981:405-406, figure 303; Borror and White 1970:194). In early ethnographic/historical accounts, however, this beetle is called the "flying stag" (Lawson 1967:139; Mooney 1900a:463,511; Williams 1927:72). It seems more likely that these terms refer to the stag beetle, family Lucanidae; the male in this family has greatly developed, sometimes branched, mandibles (Borror et al. 1981:400; Borror and White 1970:190-191), suggesting the antlers of a male deer (Williams 1927:72) or pincer-like claws of a crayfish.

digsi digasagwalehlidohi 'tumblebug' [/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /adig-/ 'defecate' VR + /-s-/ perf. AS + /-i/ ag + /di-/ dist. + /ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-sagwale-/ 'roll it' VR + /-hl-/ perf. AS + /-i-/ epen. + /-do-/ am. DS + /-h-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ agl lit. 'feces roller' [/digsi/ 'feces' DN </adigsga/ 'he/she defecates'] and [</gasagwalehiha/ 'he/she is rolling him/her/it'] CT, UPL.
dung beetle, Phanaeus vindex MacLachlan.

The dung beetle is noted for its brilliant green body and golden pronotum; the male of this species bears a long horn on the top of its head (Borror et al. 1981:403, figure 300). Moreover, the metallic-green luster upon its forehead is mentioned in Cherokee mythology (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:397; Mooney 1900a:308,314,465) (see Chapter 6). A pair of these beetles will chew off a piece of dung and roll it into a ball, which they push some considerable distance and bury in the soil. The female then lays her eggs in this ball (Borror et al. 1981:403; Borror and White 1970:192).

daga 'June-bug' [NR] UN, SPL.
tuya-diskahlawidisgi--lexical synonym. [/tuya/ 'beans' NR + /di-/ dist. + /uska/ 'head' 'skull' + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /ahlawid-/ 'take off flying' 'fly away' VR + /-isg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'flyer with head by the beans' [</ahlawidiha/ 'he/she is taking off flying' 'it is flying away'] CT, UPL.
green June beetle, Cotinis nitida (Linnaeus);
green June beetle, Cotinis nitida (Linnaeus):adult.

This insect is identified as Allorhina nitida (Mooney 1900a:308,532), which is the old western scientific name for the green June beetle, Cotinis nitida (Leng 1920:262). According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **daga** may serve as a general term referring both to the larval and to the adult forms of this beetle, though it is applied primarily to the latter. The lexical synonym **tuya-diskahlawidisgi**, however, is used only for the adult, whose arrival is supposed to mark the ripening of the beans (Brown 1938a:535; Mooney 1900a:308,532). The adult usually feeds on ripening fruits and young corn (Borror et al. 1981:406; Borror and White 1970:194).

daliyodaga 'grubworm' [/d-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-ali-/ refl. + /-yo-/ 'break' VR + /daga/ 'June-bug' NR] lit. 'segmented June-bug' [</ayoga/ 'it is breaking'] CT, SL.
green June beetle, Cotinis nitida (Linnaeus):larva.

The grubworm, according to western science, is the larval form of the green June beetle (Borror et al. 1981:406; Borror and White 1970:194-195; Mooney 1900a:308). Whether the Cherokee also viewed this creature as an earlier life stage form of the adult is not stated. The grubworm usually occurs in the soil, where it feeds on plant roots

(Borror et al. 1981:406; Borror and White 1970:194-195), and is described as having the habit of crawling on its back (Borror and White 1970:194-195; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389; Mooney 1900a:252) (see Chapter 6).

dalsguwa 'snapping beetle' [/d-/ dist. + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /alsguw-/ 'nod head' VR + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /-a/ immed. past MS] lit. 'head nodder' [</alsguwsga/ 'he/she is nodding his/her head'] DN, SPL. eyed click beetle, Alaus oculatus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the behavior of its referent, the eyed click beetle, noted for its ability to "click" and jump. The clicking is made possible by certain movements involving the bending and straightening of the body. This beetle is mottled-gray in color and is the largest and most easily recognized species in the click beetle family, Elateridae (Borror et al. 1981:410; Borror and White 1970:166-167; Gaul 1960).

kamama (sg. and pl.) 'butterfly' [NR] UN, SPL. butterfly, Papilionoidea.

This is a general term referring to butterflies. During the nineteenth century, the attributive **utana** 'big' was added to the word **kamama**, which, in turn, was expanded in meaning to signify 'elephant,' an Old World animal that was introduced by travelling circuses, because of a supposed resemblance of the long trunk and flapping ears of the pachyderm to the proboscis and wings, respectively, of the butterfly (King and King 1976:60; Mooney 1885:126, 1900a:265,524) (see **kamama utana** 'elephant').

wahili 'measuring-worm' [NR] UN, SPL.
geometer moth, Geometridae:larva.

This term may possibly refer to the larva of the geometer moth, which is often locally called by the English common names "measuringworm" and "inchworm" (Borror et al. 1981:531; Borror and White 1970:234). This is a small slender caterpillar that has only two or three pairs of prolegs and that moves in a characteristic looping fashion (Borror et al. 1981:531; Borror and White 1970:234).

wasohla (sg. and pl.) 'red-brown moth' 'tobacco worm' [NR] UN, SPL.
tobacco hornworm, Manduca sexta (Linnaeus):adult and larva.

This term refers both to the larval and to the adult forms of this insect, which are described as a "horned" caterpillar and large red-brown moth, respectively; the latter form appears about tobacco plants in the evening hours (Mooney 1900a:438,546; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:299). The English common name "tobacco hornworm" is based upon the fact that the larva is a large green caterpillar that has a conspicuous horn or spine-like process on the dorsal surface of the eighth abdominal segment and that feeds on tobacco and other plants. The adult form has six orange-yellow spots along each side of its abdomen; it is sometimes called a hummingbird moth as it resembles this bird both in size and in feeding behavior, i.e., hovering in front of a flower and extending its

proboscis into it. This moth is most active at dusk or twilight (Borror et al. 1981:538-539). (See Chapter 6.)

advtawa 'type of moth' [/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ad-/ refl. + /-vta-/ 'place (put) in fire (solid)' class. VR + /-w-/ epen.? + /Ø/ AS + /-a/ MS] lit. 'he/she is placing (or putting) himself/herself (solid) in fire' [</gvtasga/ 'he/she is placing (or putting) it (solid) in fire'] DN, SPL.
one or several species of moth, order Lepidoptera sp(p).

This term refers to a small yellowish moth that flies about the fire at night (Mooney 1900a:310,540; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:185). The corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa cannot be determined based upon the description presented.

tvhga (sg. and pl.) 'fly' [NR] UN, SPL.
fly, order Diptera.

This is a general term referring to flies. According to several recent sources, the word is applied more specifically to the house fly, Musca domestica Linnaeus (Feeling 1975:157,205; King 1975:216,250).

dosa (sg. and pl.) 'gnat' [NR] UN, SPL.
long-horned fly, order Diptera:suborder Nematocera; black fly, buffalo gnat, Simuliidae.

According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **dosa** may serve as a general term referring to long-horned flies --gnats and mosquitos. Nevertheless, it is usually applied more specifically to gnats, possibly the black fly, or buffalo gnat (King 1975:212,246), which is a small, usually

dark-colored insect with short legs, broad wings, and a humpbacked appearance. The female is bloodsucking and a vicious biter and may be a serious pest (Borror et al. 1981:588-589; Borror and White 1970:268).

dosa utana 'mosquito' [/dosa/ 'gnat' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-atana/ 'big' NR] lit. 'big gnat' CT, SL. mosquito, Culicidae.

This is a general term referring to mosquitoes. These are larger flies than gnats; the female is bloodsucking and is often a serious pest (Borror et al. 1981:584-587; Borror and White 1970:266).

damaga (sg. and pl.) 'horse fly' [NR] UN, SPL. horse fly, Tabanidae.

chuhga (sg. and pl.) 'flea' [NR] UN, SPL. flea, order Siphonaptera.

dosvdalli (sg. and pl.) 'ant' [NR] UN, SPL. ant, Formicidae.

This is a general term referring to ants.

dosvdalli adajvysgi 'cow-ant' [/dosvdalli/ 'ant' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ad-/ refl. + /-ajvy-/ 'sting' VR + /-sg-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'stinging ant' [</gajvysga/ 'he/she is stinging it'] CT, SL.

nvyuhnuwi--lexical "alternate classification." [/nvya/ 'rock' NR + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-ahnuw-/ 'wear' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'clothed in stone' [</uhnuwa/ 'he/she is wearing a shirt, coat'] CT, UPL. 'Stone Man'
red ant, Myrmica spp., or
cow-killer ant, Dasymutilla occidentalis (Linnaeus).

This insect is described as a large red stinging ant and is questionably identified as the red ant, Myrmica spp.

(Mooney 1900a:309,514), which is in the ant family, Formicidae, subfamily Myrmicinae; the female red ant stings (Borror and White 1970:346; Chauvin 1970). The gloss presented, however, is 'cow-ant' (Mooney 1885:125, 1900a:309,514), which is a local English common name for the cow-killer ant, Dasymutilla occidentalis, the largest species in the velvet ant family, Mutillidae (Brimley 1938:438). This is a large, often brightly colored wasp that resembles an ant but is quite hairy; the female cow-killer ant inflicts a very painful sting (Borror et al. 1981:684-685, figure 609; Borror and White 1970:344,345, plate 15).

The lexical "alternate" **nvyuhnuwi** is the name for the mythical monster 'Stone-Clad,' or 'Stone Man,' who was invulnerable by reason of his stony skin (Mooney 1900a:309, 319-320,514,529; Speck and Broom 1951:13-18) (see Chapter 6), and is sometimes applied to this ant in reference to its hard body case (Mooney 1900a:309,514,529).

kanajisdeji (sg. and pl.) 'wasp' [UD] UDN, PL. wasp, order Hymenoptera.

This is a general term referring to wasps.

jasgayli (sg. and pl.) 'yellow-jacket' [NR] UN, SPL.
eastern yellowjacket, Vespula maculifrons (Buysson).

ulaga 'mythical great insect' 'great yellow-jacket' [NR] UN, SPL.

This term does not refer to any particular species but rather is glossed as 'leader,' 'principal,' or 'boss' and,

in this sense, is applied to the large queen yellow-jacket seen in the spring or to the leader of a working gang (Mooney 1900a:444,541). The name also means 'great insect,' the large mythical original yellow-jacket (Mooney 1900a:260,444,541) (see Chapter 6).

sehwada 'hornet' [NR] UN, SPL.
baldfaced hornet, Vespula maculata (Linnaeus).

wadulisi (sg. and pl.) 'bee' [NR] UN, SPL. 'honey' bee, Apidae;
honey bee, Apis mellifera Linnaeus.

According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **wadulisi** may serve as a general term referring to bees. Nevertheless, it is usually applied more specifically to the honey bee, an insect that was introduced into North America (Swanton 1979:252), as well as to the honey (Feeling 1975:187,205; Gallatin 1836:401; Mooney 1885:95,125) produced by this domestic insect. Furthermore, the term was probably first applied to the native bumble bee. With the introduction of the honey bee following European contact, this word was transferred to the latter insect, and the bumble bee, in turn, became referred to as **wadulisi utana**, or 'big bee.' This semantic replacement is not recorded in any of the early sources but rather is also based upon general patterns perceived in Cherokee animal nomenclature (see **sihgwa** 'pig/hog').

wadulisi utana 'humble bee' [/wadulisi/ 'bee' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-atana/ 'big' NR] lit. 'big bee' CT, SL.
bumble bee, Apidae:Bombinae.

This term refers to the native humble bee.

The following terms refer to invertebrate classes, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the phylum ARTHROPODA, class ARACHNIDA.

gugu (sg. and pl.) 'tick' [NR] UN, SPL. 'bottle' 'vial'
tick, order Acari.

The term **gugu** was expanded in meaning to signify 'bottle' or 'vial,' possibly referring to a similarity between the somewhat globular liquid-containing body (i.e., the blood of its prey upon which it feeds enlarges the body to a spherical or egg-shape) of certain kinds of ticks and the functional shape and use of bottles and vials (King and King 1976:60).

kana!nesgi (sg. and pl.) 'spider' [/ka-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-na!ne-/ 'make noise' VR + /-sg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'noise maker' [</kana!neha/ 'it is making a noise'] DN, SPL. 'clock' 'watch'
spider, order Araneae.

This term also means 'clock' or 'watch' because of a supposed resemblance in appearance (Mooney 1885:125, 1900a:309-310,524).

kanalnesgi amayehi 'water spider' [/kanalnesgi/ 'spider' + /ama/ 'water' NR + /-yi/ loc. ATS + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /eh-/ 'dwell' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'spider dwelling (or living) in the water' [/ehi/ 'dweller' DN <[/eha/ 'he/she dwells'] CT, SL.

dilsdoyhdi--lexical "alternate classification." [/di-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-al-/ refl. + /-sdoye-/ 'cut hair' VR + /-hd-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS] lit. 'cutter' [</asdoyeha/ 'he/she is cutting hair'] DN, SPL. 'scissors'

fishing spider, Dolomedes spp.

The term **kanalnesgi amayehi** may refer to the fact that the fishing spider is adapted to living near water and is noted for gracefully walking, or rather skating, over the water's surface. This amphibious creature is quite large and feeds upon aquatic insects and even small fish (Borror et al. 1981:138; Comstock 1948:620,625-631; Gertsch 1949:205-210; Kaston 1972:188). When frightened, it dives beneath the water's surface and hides under floating leaves (Comstock 1948:620,631). The female is noted for its great maternal devotion; the mother spins a great silken ball, or sac, for holding her eggs (see Chapter 6) and carries this about her at all times until the spiderlings are ready to emerge (Borror et al. 1981:137-138; Comstock 1948:615-620; Gertsch 1949:211-212). The lexical "alternate" **dilsdoyhdi** was expanded in meaning, following European contact, to signify 'scissors' (King 1975:151,210,267; Mooney 1900a:430,516), perhaps because of a supposed resemblance of the spread in the water and in the cloth after each passes through (King 1975:151). The fishing spider is noted to exhibit a leg spread of three to five

inches (7.6-12.7 cm) (Borror et al. 1981:138, figure 73; Gertsch 1949:207).

"Fish" invertebrates

This group is unlabelled and consists of both shellfish (phylum MOLLUSCA) and crayfish (phylum ARTHROPODA, class CRUSTACEA).

dagvna (sg. and pl.) 'mussel' [NR] UN, SPL. 'pimple'
bivalve mollusc, MOLLUSCA:PELECYPODA;
freshwater mussel, MOLLUSCA:PELECYPODA:Unionidae.

According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **dagvna** may serve as a general term referring to all bivalve molluscs. Nevertheless, it is usually applied more specifically to freshwater mussels. The word also means 'pimple' (Feeling 1975:68,213; King 1975:216,259; Mooney 1900a:308,514), possibly referring to the knobby texture of certain mussel shells.

dagvna utana 'oyster' [/dagvna/ 'mussel' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-atana/ 'big' NR] lit. 'big mussel' CT, SL.
oyster, MOLLUSCA:PELECYPODA:Ostreidae.

The oyster is a marine mollusc and therefore is not present in the freshwater rivers and streams of the Cherokee country. The Cherokee may have become acquainted with this animal through association with coastal Southeast Indian groups.

jisdvna (sg. and pl.) 'crayfish' [NR] UN, SPL. 'large horned beetle' (see **ahwi** 'large horned beetle')
crayfish, ARTHROPODA:CRUSTACEA:order Decapoda;
stag beetle, ARTHROPODA:INSECTA:Lucanidae.

This term refers primarily to the crayfish and is secondarily defined as 'large horned beetle' (Mooney 1900a:308,463,537).

jisgagili 'red crayfish' [NR] UN, SPL.
red crayfish, ARTHROPODA:CRUSTACEA:Cambaridae.

This term refers to a large red variety of crayfish (King 1975:213,238; Mooney 1885:122, 1900a:239,308,537). This creature may possibly be a cambarid, which is bright red as an adult (Richard Franz, Florida State Museum, personal communication).

Fish

This labelled group consists of fish, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class OSTEICHTHYES and possibly class AGNATHA. One additional animal included is the whale, order Cetacea, which is in the class MAMMALIA. The cover term is presented first, followed by the names for the various included labelled classes.

ajaldi (sg. and pl.) 'fish' [NR] UN, SPL.
jawless fish, CHORDATA:AGNATHA?;
bony fish, CHORDATA:OSTEICHTHYES;
mammal, CHORDATA:MAMMALIA:part.

This is a general term referring to all animals considered fish, i.e., bony and possibly jawless fish as

well as the whale. One source states that the word **ajaldi** may be related to **ujati**, which is glossed as 'many' (Mooney 1900a:544). Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the Cherokee viewed **hawiya** 'meat' as the edible flesh of any animal considered food with the exception of fish; they designated fish meat simply as **ajaldi** 'fish' (Mooney 1885:95).

tlvdegwa (sg. and pl.) 'eel' [NR] UN, SPL. lamprey, Petromyzontidae, or American eel, Anguilla rostrata (Le Sueur).

This term may refer either to the lamprey or to the American eel. It should be noted that the English common names "lamprey" and "eel" are often used interchangeably, i.e., lampreys are, at times, locally called eels (Carter R. Gilbert, Florida State Museum, personal communication), though they denote completely different kinds of fish within western scientific taxonomy: The lamprey is a jawless fish and is in the class AGNATHA (AFS 1980:11); the American eel is considered a bony fish and is in the class OSTEICHTHYES (AFS 1980:15). Four species of lampreys are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:15,16,19,23):

Ohio lamprey --- Ichthyomyzon bdellium (Jordan)
chestnut lamprey--- Ichthyomyzon castaneus Girard
Allegheny brook lamprey --- Ichthyomyzon greeleyi Hubbs and Trautman
American brook lamprey --- Lampetra appendix (DeKay)

kawonu kayvsoli 'pike' [/kawonu/ 'duck' NR + /ka-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-yvsoli/ 'nose' NR] lit. 'duck's bill' CT, UPL.
longnose gar, Lepisosteus osseus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the longnose gar, a fish that has an extremely long slender bill, like that of a duck but narrower and armed with very sharp teeth (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:37,73-74,161,169; McClane 1978:180,181). The longnose gar is sometimes locally called by the English common names "pike" (or "gar pike") (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:169; Rostlund 1952:12-13) or "horn-fish" (Hulbert and Schwarze 1910:37,161).

adaja 'mountain trout' 'speckled trout' [NR] UN, SPL.
brook trout, Salvelinus fontinalis (Mitchill).

This term probably refers to the brook trout, which is distinguished by red spots with blue aureoles on its sides (McClane 1978:24) and is sometimes locally called by the English common name "speckled trout" (Thompson 1985:48). This fish requires cold water and is often found in the headwater section of rivers (i.e., mountain regions) and around cold tributary streams (McClane 1978:24-27).

amakta 'minnow' [/ama/ 'water' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /akt-/ 'peek through' VR + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /-a/ immed. past MS] lit. 'he/she just peeked through the water' [</aktiha/ 'he/she is peeking through'] CT, UPL.
minnow, Cyprinidae.

This term probably refers to minnows. The **amakta** is described as being approximately one or two inches (2.5-5.8 cm) in length, appearing in schools in the summer

(Mooney 1885:122; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:181). The word may refer to this fish's habit of swimming near the surface of the water, which is typical of some minnows (Lee et al. 1980; McClane 1978). Thirty-five species of minnows are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:143-361):

stoneroller --- Campostoma anomalum (Rafinesque)
rosyside dace --- Clinostomus funduloides Girard
flame chub --- Hemitremia flammea (Jordan and Gilbert)
central silvery minnow --- Hybognathus nuchalis Agassiz
speckled chub --- Hybopsis aestivalis (Girard)
bigeye chub --- Hybopsis amblops (Rafinesque)
blotched chub --- Hybopsis insignis Hubbs and Crowe
spotfin chub --- Hybopsis monacha (Cope)
silver chub --- Hybopsis storeriana (Kirtland)
river chub --- Nocomis micropogon (Cope)
golden shiner --- Notemigonus crysoleucas (Mitchill)
popeye shiner --- Notropis ariommus (Cope)
emerald shiner --- Notropis atherinoides Rafinesque
striped shiner --- Notropis chrysocephalus chrysocephalus (Rafinesque)
warpaint shiner --- Notropis coccogenis (Cope)
whitetail shiner --- Notropis galacturus (Cope)
Tennessee shiner --- Notropis leuciodus (Cope)
mountain shiner --- Notropis lirus (Jordan)
silver shiner --- Notropis photogenis (Cope)
rosyface shiner --- Notropis rubellus (Agassiz)
saffron shiner --- Notropis rubricroceus (Cope)
mirror shiner --- Notropis spectrunculus (Cope)
spotfin shiner --- Notropis spilopterus (Cope)
sand shiner --- Notropis stramineus (Cope)
telescope shiner --- Notropis telescopus (Cope)
mimic shiner --- Notropis volucellus (Cope)
steelcolor shiner --- Notropis whipplei (Girard)
fatlips minnow --- Phenacobius crassilabrum Minckley and Craddock
stargazing minnow --- Phenacobius uranops Cope
mountain redbelly dace --- Phoxinus oreas (Cope)

blunthead minnow --- Pimephales notalus (Rafinesque)
bullhead minnow --- Pimephales vigilax (Baird and Girard)
blacknose dace --- Rhinichthys atratulus (Hermann)
longnose dace --- Rhinichthys cataractae (Valenciennes)
creek chub --- Semotilus atromaculatus (Mitchill)

ugvsdelli 'hornyhead fish' [UD] UDN, PL.
jugi-juyhvsdi--lexical synonym. [/j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-gi-/ 'pick up (solid)' class. VR + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /Ø/ immed. past MS + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-yh-/ 'carry (solid)' class. VR + /-vsd-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS] lit. 'he/she just picked up and carried it (solid)' [</agila/ 'he/she is picking it (solid) up'] and [</ayhi/ 'he/she is carrying it (solid)'] CT, UPL.
stoneroller, Campostoma anomalum (Rafinesque).

These two terms refer to the stoneroller, which is often locally called by the English common name "hornyhead" (McClane 1978:79; Thompson 1985:62). The term **ugvsdelli**, though undetermined morphologically, is supposed to refer to the sharp horns, or tubercles, that develop on the male during the spawning season (Mooney 1900a:307-308,541). The lexical synonym **jugi-juyhvsdi** refers to the stoneroller's habit of building a nest by piling small stones (solid objects) in the water (Mooney 1885:122, 1900a:307-308).

daloge 'hog sucker' [NR] UN, SPL.
northern hog sucker, Hypentelium nigricans (Le Sueur).

oliga 'redhorse fish' [NR] UN, SPL.
redhorse, Moxostoma spp.

This term may refer to all five species of redhorse that are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:409-428):

silver redhorse --- Moxostoma anisurum (Rafinesque)
river redhorse --- Moxostoma carinatum (Cope)
black redhorse --- Moxostoma duquesnei (Le Sueur)
golden redhorse --- Moxostoma erythrurum (Rafinesque)
shorthead redhorse --- Moxostoma macrolepidotum breviceps (Cope)

oligiyusdi 'white sucker' [/oliga/ 'redhorse' NR + /-iyusdi/ 'like' char. ATS] lit. 'like a redhorse' DN, UPL.
white sucker, Catostomus commersoni (Lacepede).

The white sucker looks similar to some redhorse species. In western scientific taxonomy, these two genera are grouped together in the sucker family, Catostomidae (AFS 1980:26-27).

julisdanali (sg.) 'blue catfish' [/j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-ali-/ refl. + /-sdanali/ 'shoals' NR] IN, SPL.
junilisdanali (pl.)
blue catfish, Ictalurus furcatus (Le Sueur).

This fish is identified as Ameiurus (Mooney 1891:375), which is the old western science generic name for the bullhead catfish, genus Ictalurus (AFS 1980:105). The term **julisdanali** probably refers specifically to the blue catfish (Mooney 1885:122, 1891:374,375; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:260,261). The association between the blue catfish and shoals may possibly refer to the natural habitat of this fish, i.e., over stream bottoms of bedrock, boulders, gravel, or sand (McClane 1978:103).

usgwohli egwa 'mud catfish' 'bullhead' 'horned pout' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-sgwohli/ 'stomach' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit. 'huge stomach' CT, UPL.
black bullhead, Ictalurus melas (Rafinesque), or
flathead catfish, Pylodictis olivaris (Rafinesque).

This term may refer either to the black bullhead or to the flathead catfish. The literal meaning of the word indicates that this fish is rather fat and, according to the gloss 'mud catfish,' that it occurs in muddy waters. The black bullhead, Ictalurus melas (Rafinesque), has a chubby body, and it seems to prefer silty water with a soft mud bottom (McClane 1978:102; Thompson 1985:106-107). Furthermore, the gloss 'horned pout' (Hewitt 1887:32) is sometimes used as a local English common name for this fish (McClane 1978:102; Thompson 1985:107). The flathead catfish, Pylodictis olivaris (Rafinesque), is a large catfish that is distinguished by its wide, distinctly flattened head (McClane 1978:106-107) and that is found in deep, sluggish pools of larger rivers (Lee et al. 1980:472; McClane 1978:106). It is often locally called by the English common names "mud cat" (Evermann and Hildehrand 1914:442) and "yellow cat" (AFS 1980:114; Evermann and Hildebrand 1914:442).

agola (sg.) 'sun perch' [/a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gola/ 'sun perch' NR] IN, SPL.
anigola (pl.)
bluegill, Lepomis macrochirus Rafinesque, and/or
longear sunfish, Lepomis megalotis (Rafinesque).

The gloss 'sun perch' is frequently used as a local English common name both for the bluegill (McClane

1978:120) and for the longear sunfish (Carter R. Gilbert, Florida State Museum, personal communication).

unoga 'trout' 'bass' [NR] UN, SPL. bass, Micropterus spp.

The gloss 'trout' is frequently used as a local English common name for the bass (McClane 1978:136). Three species of bass are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:605,607,608):

smallmouth bass --- Micropterus dolomieui Lacepede
spotted bass --- Micropterus punctulatus (Rafinesque)
largemouth bass --- Micropterus salmoides (Lacepede)

dugalvina 'type of small fish' [/d-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /galvina/ 'gourd' NR] IN, SPL. darter, Percina spp.

This term refers to a fish that is described as a small, long-nosed, slender-bodied spotted fish, approximately four inches (10.2 cm) in length, which lies upon the rocks at the bottom of larger streams. The noun root, when uninflected, is applied to the bottle gourd (Lagenaria vulgaris Seringe). The association between this fish and the gourd may possibly be based upon a supposed resemblance of the fish's long nose to the handle, or long cylindrical neck, of this plant (Mooney 1900a:455,540). This descriptive account of the **dugalvina** seems to correspond to the darter, family Percidae, subfamily Etheostominae (McClane 1978:153-154), particularly several

species within the genus Percina, which are noted for their pointed heads or snouts (Lee et al. 1980). Nine species of Percina are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:716-743):

tangerine darter--- Percina aurantiaca (Cope)
blotchside logperch --- Percina burtoni Fowler
logperch --- Percina caprodes (Rafinesque)
gilt darter --- Percina evides (Jordan and Copeland)
longhead darter --- Percina macrocephala (Cope)
dusky darter --- Percina sciera (Swain)
river darter --- Percina shumardi (Girard)
olive darter --- Percina squamata (Gilbert and Swain)
snail darter --- Percina tanasi Etnier

jiliya 'jackfish' [NR] UN, SPL.
sauger, Stizostedion canadense (Smith);
walleye, Stizostedion vitreum (Mitchill).

The gloss 'jackfish' is frequently used as a local English common name both for the sauger and for the walleye (McClane 1978:155,156).

gasadi 'drumfish' 'buffalo fish' [NR] UN, SPL.
freshwater drum, Aplodinotus grunniens Rafinesque;
buffalo fish, Ictiobus spp.

The freshwater drum and the buffalo fish look very similar and are noted for their characteristic elevated, or humped, back (McClane 1978:89,98,194). Two species of buffalo fish are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:404,406):

smallmouth buffalo --- Ictiobus bubalus (Rafinesque)
black buffalo --- Ictiobus niger (Rafinesque)

jisgwalvna 'mallethead' 'mumblehead fish' [/ji-/ ae. 1p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-sgwalvn-/ 'hit him/her on the head (with a rigid object)' VR + /Ø/ AS + /-a/ MS] lit. 'I am hitting him/her on the head (with a rigid object)' [</asgwalvniha/ 'he/she is hitting him/her on the head (with a rigid object)'] DN, SPL.
sculpin, Cottus spp.

This term refers to the sculpin. The literal meaning of the word as well as the gloss 'mallethead' may possibly be indicative of the shape of this fish's head. Moreover, the Cherokee word **sgwalvnihsdi** 'maul' (King 1975:135) is also derived from the verb **asgwalvniha.** The sculpin is distinguished by its large depressed head and closely set high eyes (McClane 1978:87-88). Two species of sculpins are present in eastern Tennessee (Lee et al. 1980:805,807):

mottled sculpin --- Cottus bairdi Girard
banded sculpin --- Cottus carolinae (Gill)

ajadiya 'salmon' [/ajaldi/ 'fish' NR + /-ya/ 'principal' int. ATS] lit. 'principal fish' DN, PPL.
taxon or taxa undetermined.

The 'salmon' is described as some large variety of fish (Mooney 1885:122), which, according to the literal meaning, may have been very common in the Cherokee country. The corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa, however, cannot be determined based upon the description presented as the gloss 'salmon' is frequently used as a local English common name for several kinds of fish (Carter R. Gilbert, Florida State Museum, personal communication).

dagwa 'mythical fish' 'whale' [NR] UN, SPL. whale, MAMMALIA:order Cetacea.

This term refers to a huge mythical monster fish (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:414; Mooney 1900a:307,320-321,469-470,514), which the Cherokee considered the father of all fish (Mooney 1900a:307) (see Chapter 6), and to the whale (Gallatin 1836:401; Gatschet 1885a:111; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:414; Mooney 1885:111, 1887:111, 1900a:469,514). The latter animal is not present in the Cherokee country and was probably initially learned of through reading the Bible (Mooney 1885:111).

Herpetofauna

This group consists of both amphibians (phylum CHORDATA, class AMPHIBIA)--salamanders, toads, and frogs --and reptiles (phylum CHORDATA, class REPTILIA)--turtles, lizards, snakes, and alligators.

Toads/frogs

This group consists of toads and frogs, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class AMPHIBIA, order Anura, and, as a whole, is not labelled. Some confusion is apparent on the part of the early investigators who used the glosses 'toad' and 'frog' interchangeably; proper identification and correspondence with western scientific taxa are therefore based upon their descriptive accounts of

these animals. In addition, vocalizations are also considered as they play a role in the naming and thus recognition of several anurans.

walosi (sg. and pl.) 'toad' [NR] UN, SPL. 'warts' true toad, Bufo spp.

The terms **walosi** and **tehga** have been glossed as 'toad' and/or 'frog' interchangeably by different early investigators. Nevertheless, several of them claim that the word **walosi** also means 'warts' (King 1975:222,275; Mooney 1900a:306,545): Mooney states that the common green frog is called **walosi** and that "the handling of it is thought to cause warts, which for this reason are called by the same name, **walosi**" (Mooney 1900a:306); the Kilpatricks feel that the frog's "sores" mentioned in the mythology (Mooney 1900a:251) may be actually referring to the warts of the toad (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389) (see Chapter 6). Two species of true toads are present in eastern Tennessee (Conant 1975:map 261,265; Huheey and Stupka 1967:33-35):

American toad --- Bufo americanus americanus Holbrook
Fowler's toad --- Bufo woodhousei fowleri Hinckley

uwesgi 'June frog' [NR] UN, SPL.
northern cricket frog, Acris crepitans crepitans Baird.

This term refers to the cricket frog (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1970:112), which is noted for its distinctive clicking sound (Conant 1975:317-318; Huheey and Stupka 1967:35-36).

dusdu 'spring frog' [ono] UN, SPL.
northern spring peeper, Hyla crucifer crucifer Wied.

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:517; Speck and Broom 1951:76) and refers to the northern spring peeper, which is described as appearing very early in the spring (Mooney 1900a:517). At that time, it congregates in moist woodlands, where it is noted to form choral groups (Conant 1975:319-320; Gentry 1955:174). These small singers are described as saying "dusd! dusd! dusd!" (Mooney 1885:124).

dala 'treefrog' 'tree toad' [ono] UN, SPL.
gray treefrog, Hyla versicolor versicolor Le Conte.

This term is probably onomatopoetic and refers to the gray treefrog, whose call is very similar to that of the red-bellied woodpecker (Conant 1975:324; Gulledge 1982) (see **dalala** 'red-headed woodpecker').

kanuna (sg. and pl.) 'bullfrog' [ono] UN, SPL.
bullfrog, Rana catesbeiana Shaw.

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1900a:525) and refers to the bullfrog, whose call can be heard from May until late summer (Gentry 1955:175). The bullfrog is the largest kind of frog occurring in the Cherokee country (Conant 1975:338; Huheey and Stupka 1967:39).

tehga (sg. and pl.) 'frog' [NR] UN, SPL.
green frog, Rana clamitans melanota (Rafinesque).

This term refers to a small frog (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255) that is described as being yellowish in color

(Mooney 1885:124) and is probably the green frog (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1970:111).

gwalga 'type of frog' [ono] UN, SPL.
wood frog, Rana sylvatica Le Conte.

This term is probably onomatopoetic, resembling the sound made by a very early pond frog (Mooney 1885:124). This frog may possibly be the wood frog: It makes a duck-like hoarse clacking sound (Gulledge 1982) and appears very early, often heard calling before the ice has completely melted off the ponds (Conant 1975:343).

digiji 'tadpole' [NR] UN, SPL.
taxon or taxa undetermined.

The corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa cannot be determined based upon the information available. This may be a general term referring to the young of toads and frogs.

Salamanders/lizards

Salamanders and lizards are lumped together here into a single unlabelled group because the early investigators tended to use the glosses 'salamander' and 'lizard' interchangeably. In western scientific taxonomy, however, they belong to two separate classes: Salamanders, order Caudata, are in the class AMPHIBIA, and lizards, order Squamata, suborder Lacertilia, are in the class REPTILIA (Schmidt 1953). Some of the names are represented by simple unmarked forms, i.e., uninflected nouns. The remaining words are either derived nouns or composite terms

and are often descriptive of the physical appearance and/or certain traditional beliefs concerning the behavior of the animal referent.

The following salamanders are recognized.

juwa 'water dog' 'mud puppy' [NR] UN, SPL. hellbender, Cryptobranchus alleganiensis alleganiensis (Daudin), or mudpuppy, Necturus maculosus maculosus (Rafinesque).

This salamander is identified as Menopoma or Protonopsis (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:307,410,540), which are the old western science generic names for the hellbender, genus Cryptobranchus (Holbrook 1842b:95-97; Schmidt 1953:11; Thwaites 1904:289). It is described as a very large salamander that frequents muddy water (Mooney 1900a:307) and that has a flat head (Butrick n.d.a:87). One recent source, however, applies the term **juwa** to the mudpuppy (King 1975:209,278). The hellbender and the mudpuppy are the two largest kinds of salamanders occurring in the Cherokee country and are entirely aquatic. The hellbender is huge (circa 12 to 29 inches [30.5-73.7 cm] in length) and is noted for having a broad flat head and a loose fleshy fold of skin along each side of its body; it usually inhabits clear, fast-flowing streams and rivers with rocky bottoms (Behler and King 1979:269-270; Conant 1975:240-241; Holbrook 1842b:95-97, plate XXXII; Huheey and Stupka 1967:11-12). The mudpuppy, on the other hand, is somewhat smaller (circa 8 to 17 inches [20.3-43.2 cm] in length) and is distinguished by its external feathery

maroon gills; it is generally found in lakes, rivers, and streams of all kinds and, in contrast to the hellbender, is more likely to occur in muddy or weed-choked waters (Behler and King 1979:283; Conant 1975:241-243; Huheey and Stupka 1967:12-13).

duweka 'spring lizard' [UD] UDN, PL.
northern spring salamander, Gyrinophilus porphyriticus porphyriticus (Green);
mountain spring salamander, Gyrinophilus porphyriticus danielsi (Blatchley).

This term may possibly refer to the spring salamander, which is sometimes locally called by the English common name "spring lizard." The spring salamander commonly inhabits cool springs and mountain streams as well as wet depressions in surrounding forests (Conant 1975:283-285). The Cherokee believed that this creature had the ability to cause rain when crawling out of a spring; it was frequently invoked by conjurors (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:307) (see Chapter 6).

dagahnda 'rainmaker lizard' 'spring(?) lizard' [/d-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-ga-/ 'rain' VR + /-n-/ perf. AS + /-hd-/ caus. DS + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /-a/ immed. past MS] lit. 'he/she just made it rain' [</agasga/ 'it is raining'] DN, SPL.
anigahndisgi--lexical variant. [/ani-/ ae. 3p.pl. + /-ga-/ 'rain' VR + /-n-/ perf. AS + /-hd-/ caus. DS + /-isg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'rainmaker' [</agasga/ 'it is raining']
midland mud salamander, Pseudotriton montanus diastictus Bishop;
red salamander, Pseudotriton ruber (Sonnini).

These two terms refer to a small variety of salamander, which is described as being red with black spots (Mooney 1885:124) and as having a cry that was

believed to have the power to cause rain (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:307,514) (see Chapter 6). This animal is questionably identified as a spring lizard (salamander) (Mooney 1900a:307) and may he either the midland mud salamander and/or the red salamander, both of which are red with black spots and are usually found in or near springs (Behler and King 1979:352-354; Conant 1975:286-288).

The following lizards are recognized.

wajili 'chameleon' [NR] UN, SPL.
green anole, Anolis carolinensis carolinensis Voigt.

The gloss 'chameleon' is frequently used as a local English common name for the green anole (Conant 1975:88; Huheey and Stupka 1967:49).

tiyohalli (sg.and pl.) 'lizard' [NR] UN, SPL.
northern fence lizard, Sceloporous undulatus hyacinthinus (Green).

The northern fence lizard is described as being gray in color, approximately six inches (15.2 cm) in length, and very common in the Cherokee country (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:306).

jonena 'scorpion lizard' [NR] UN, SPL.
giga-danegisgi--lexical synonym. [/giga/ 'blood' NR + /d-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-negi-/ 'pick up (liquid)' class. VR + /-sg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'blood taker' [</ganegila/ 'he/she is picking up (or getting) some liquid'] CT, UPL.
five-lined skink, Eumeces fasciatus (Linnaeus), or southeastern five-lined skink, Eumeces inexpectatus Taylor.

These two terms refer to a small striped lizard, which is described as resembling the fence lizard but of a brown

color and as frequently occurring in sandy regions (Mooney 1900a:307). The lexical synonym **giga-danegisgi** may refer to the fact that the Cherokee believed it to be sucking blood whenever it nodded its head (Mooney 1900a:307) (see Chapter 6) and that this creature is partly red in color. This lizard may be either the southeastern five-lined skink or the five-lined skink, both of which are often locally called by the English common name "scorpion" (Huheey and Stupka 1967:51): The former creature is noted to tolerate drier conditions (Conant 1975:124-125); the latter, however, is more common (Huheey and Stupka 1967:52), and the male is noted for having an orange-red jaw during the breeding season (Conant 1975:122-123).

giga-juholi 'bloody-mouth lizard' [/giga/ 'blood' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-holi/ 'mouth' NR] lit. 'bloody mouth' CT, UPL.
broad-headed skink, Eumeces laticeps (Schneider).

This lizard is identified as Plestiodon erythrocephalus (Mooney 1900a:306,463,519), which is the old western scientific name for the broad-headed skink, Eumeces laticeps (Holbrook 1842a:117-120; Schmidt 1953:148). It is described as a very large lizard, nearly as big as a water dog, with the throat and corners of the mouth red as though from drinking blood; it has a severe bite. The Cherokee believed it to be sucking the blood of its victim whenever it approached an individual and puffed out its throat so that its head assumed a bright red color (Mooney 1900a:306-307) (see Chapter 6). The broad-headed

skink is noted for being a large lizard with a bright red head, olive-brown body and tail, and yellowish-white throat and abdomen. It is found in woodland habitats and is primarily arboreal, commonly making use of hollow trees or tree holes (Conant 1975:123-124; Holbrook 1842a:117-120, plate XVI; Huheey and Stupka 1967:52).

Turtles

This group is also unlabelled and consists of three kinds of turtles, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class REPTILIA, order Testudines.

saligugi (sg. and pl.) 'water turtle' [NR] UN, SPL.
snapping turtle, Chelydridae;
musk/mud turtle, Kinosternidae;
water turtle, Emydidae:part.

This may be a general term referring to freshwater turtles. Nine species of freshwater turtles are present in eastern Tennessee (Conant 1975:37-48,54-69, map 3-15,22,25; Gentry 1956:242-243; Huheey and Stupka 1967:45-47,79-80):

common snapping turtle	---	Chelydra serpentina serpentina (Linnaeus)
stinkpot	---	Sternotherus odoratus (Latreille)
stripe-necked musk turtle	---	Sternotherus minor peltifer Smith and Glass
eastern mud turtle	---	Kinosternon subrubrum subrubrum (Lacepede)
bog turtle	---	Clemmys muhlenbergi (Schoepff)
map turtle	---	Graptemys geographica (Le Sueur)
false map turtle	---	Graptemys pseudogeographica (Gray)

midland painted turtle --- Chrysemys picta marginata Agassiz
Cumberland turtle --- Chrysemys scripta troosti (Holbrook)

daksi (sg. and pl.) 'terrapin' [NR] UN, SPL. 'padlock'
eastern box turtle, Terrapene carolina carolina (Linnaeus).

This land turtle figured prominently within the Cherokee culture. The Cherokee were well aware of its close-fitting armor and its ability to close its shell tightly when danger threatens. Following European contact, the term **daksi** was expanded in meaning to signify 'padlock,' an introduced cultural item. The capability to close securely that is characteristic of both items may be a possible reason for this semantic extension (King and King 1976:60).

ulanawa 'softshell turtle' [UD] UDN, PL.
klanawa--lexical variant. [UD]
eastern spiny softshell, Trionyx spiniferus spiniferus Le Sueur.

One source notes that the softshell turtle is not "called" a tortoise (Mooney 1885:124).

Snakes

This labelled group consists of snakes, both real, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class REPTILIA, order Squamata, suborder Serpentes, as well as fictitious, i.e., mythical, creatures. Many of the names are either derived nouns or composite terms and are often descriptive of the physical appearance and/or behavior

of the animal referent. The cover term is presented first, followed by the names for the genuine snakes and then the apocryphal serpents.

inada (sg. and pl.) 'snake' [NR] UN, SPL. snake, CHORDATA:REPTILIA:order Squamata:suborder Serpentes.

This is a general term referring to snakes.

kanegwodi 'water snake' 'water moccasin' [UD] UDN, PL.
vdadi--lexical synonym. [UD] UDN, PL. northern water snake, Nerodia sipedon sipedon (Linnaeus); midland water snake, Nerodia sipedon pleuralis (Cope).

The gloss 'water moccasin' is frequently used as a local English common name for the larger and stouter water snakes. These creatures, however, are nonpoisonous, unlike the true moccasins, i.e., cottonmouth, which are venomous (Conant 1975:139; Huheey and Stupka 1967:56). The lexical synonym **vdadi** is used in one of the sacred formulas (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:256-257) (see Chapter 6).

odalaktiyi 'garter snake' 'garden snake' [/odalvli/ 'mountain' + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ktiy-/ 'wait' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'mountain guard' [/aktiyi/ 'guard' DN </aktiya/ 'he/she waits for him/her/it'] CT, UPL. eastern garter snake, Thamnophis sirtalis sirtalis (Linnaeus).

The garter, or garden, snake may occur in a variety of habitats ranging from sea level to high in the mountains (Behler and King 1979:674; Conant 1975:157; Huheey and Stupka 1967:58). The explanation for the association between this snake and the term's literal meaning remains undetermined.

daliksda 'spreading adder' [/d-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-ali-/ refl. + /-ksd-/ 'vomit' VR + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /-a/ immed. past MS] lit. 'he/she just vomited' [</duksdiha/ 'he/she is vomiting'] DN, SPL.

kwandayoha (sg. and pl.)--lexical synonym. [/kwana/ 'peach' NR + /d-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-yoh-/ 'shoot' VR + /Ø/ immed. past AS + /-a/ immed. past MS] lit. 'he/she just shot the peaches' [</ayohiha/ 'he/she is shooting him/her/it'] CT, UPL.
eastern hognose snake, Heterodon platyrhinos Latreille.

These two terms may refer to this snake's habit of vomiting yellow slime (Davis 1910:29, 1937:34; Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:252,297,438,514; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:301) (see Chapter 6). The eastern hognose snake is sometimes locally called by the English common name "spreading adder" (Conant 1975:169).

uksuhti 'black racer' 'mountain blacksnake' [/u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-ksuhv-/ 'get something in eye' VR + /-ht-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS] lit. 'to get something in eye' [</uksuhvsga/ 'he/she is getting something in his/her eye'] (analysis questionable) DN, SPL.
northern black racer, Coluber constrictor constrictor Linnaeus.

Morphological analysis of this term remains questionable and is based upon the suggested analysis presented by two sources. The word is supposed to refer to some peculiarity of the eye (Mooney 1900a:462,541) or to some substance in the eye (Speck 1946:360).

selagwoya (sg. and pl.) 'greensnake' [NR] UN, SPL. 'bear-grass,' Eryngium spp.
rough green snake, Opheodrys aestivus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the rough green snake and to the bear-grass (Eryngium spp.) (Mooney 1900a:296,420,530), a

plant whose long, thin leaves bear some resemblance to this serpent. The rough green snake is a slender serpent that is green above and white, yellow, or green below, blending well with the vegetation in which it often forages (Conant 1975:184-185; Huheey and Stupka 1967:62-63).

ga!legi (sg. and pl.) 'blacksnake' [/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-!le-/ 'climb' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'climber' [</ga!lega/ 'be/she is climbing it'] DN, SPL.
black rat snake, Elaphe obsoleta obsoleta (Say).

This term may refer to the black rat snake's excellent climbing ability. This snake sometimes establishes its residence in cavities high up in hollow trees (Conant 1975:194; Hubeey and Stupka 1967:64).

inada sgolvge 'bullsnake' [/inada/ 'snake' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /sgolv-/ 'fade' VR + /-g-/ imperf. AS + /-e!i/ quot. MS?] lit. 'fading (pale or light-colored) snake' [</asgolvga/ 'it is fading'] CT, PPL.
northern pine snake, Pituophis melanoleucus melanoleucus (Daudin).

This term may refer to the light color of the northern pine snake's body, which consists of black or dark brown blotches on a white, yellowish, or pale gray background (Conant 1975:199). The northern pine snake is sometimes locally called by the English common name "bullsnake" (Conant 1975:198).

wodige askoli 'copperhead snake' [/wodigeʔi/ 'brown' 'red' + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-skoli/ 'head' NR] lit. 'brown/red head' CT, UPL.

juktajisdahli (sg.)--lexical synonym. [/j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /akta/ 'eyeball' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-jisdahla-/ 'ignite' VR + /Ø/ AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'ignited eyes' [</ajisdahlasga/ 'he/she is igniting it'] CT, UPL.

junaktajisdahli (pl.)
northern copperhead, Agkistrodon contortrix mokeson (Daudin).

The term **wodige askoli** may refer to this snake's coppery-red head (Conant 1975:226). The lexical synonym **juktajisdahli** is also applied to the northern copperhead, which is believed to have "eyes of fire" because of their intense brightness (Mooney 1900a:296; Speck 1946:360).

ujonati (sg.) 'rattlesnake' [/u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-ajonat-/ 'rattle' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'rattler' [</ujonata/ 'it is rattling'] DN, SPL.

unajonati (pl.)
timber rattlesnake, Crotalus horridus horridus Linnaeus.

This term refers to the rattling noise made by the timber rattlesnake (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:295,438,544).

uktena (sg.) 'mythical horned snake' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /akta/ 'eyeball' NR + /ina/ 'far' PT?] lit. 'far-eyed' 'keen-eyed' (analysis questionable) CT, UPL.

uniktena (pl.)

Morphological analysis of this term remains questionable and is based upon the suggested analysis presented by one source (Mooney 1900a:541). The word may refer to the blazing transparent diamond-like crest on the forehead of this snake (Mooney 1900a:297,459,541; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250). The **Uktena** played an important role in Cherokee mythology and is described as a very large

monster snake with deer antlers on its head and rings or spots of color along its entire body (Mooney 1900a:253, 297,304) (see Chapter 6).

uwljvda 'mythical bouncer snake' [UD] UDN, PL.

The 'bouncer' is a mythical snake, which is described as moving by jerks like a measuring-worm (Mooney 1900a:303,544) (see Chapter 6).

usdadli 'mythical foot snake' 'fawn imitator' 'southern hoop-snake' [UD] UDN, PL.
agina ahyelisgi--lexical synonym. [/a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gina/ 'young animal' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-hyel-/ 'imitate' 'mock' VR + /-isg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'fawn imitator' [</ahyeli!a/ 'he/she is imitating (or mocking) him/her/it'] CT, UPL. rainbow snake, Farancia erytrogramma (Latreille).

The term **usdadli**, though undetermined morphologically, is supposed to refer to the sole of the foot and is applied to this mythical serpent because of its peculiar feet, or "suckers" (Mooney 1900a:302,462,543). This snake is described as moving by strides or jerks like a measuring-worm (Mooney 1900a:302). The same name is also used for the 'southern hoop-snake,' a creature prominent in white mountaineer folktales (Mooney 1900a:462,543) for biting its tail, rolling like a hoop, and stinging its victim with its spine-tipped tail (Behler and King 1979:611). The rainbow snake is associated with this fabled animal (Behler and King 1979:611) and is similarly called because of its habit of lying in a loose horizontal coil in the form of a hoop. This snake is a lowland species and therefore is not

present in the Cherokee country (Behler and King 1979:611; Conant 1975:map 137). The lexical synonym **agina ahyelisgi** is used in one of the sacred formulas in reference to the snake's habit of imitating the bleat of a fawn so as to capture and prey upon its mother (Mooney 1900a:302; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:240-241) (see Chapter 6).

Alligator

This consists of a single labelled referent, corresponding to the western scientific class REPTILIA, family Alligatoridae.

julasgi (sg. and pl.) 'alligator' [NR] UN, SPL. 'iron pot'
American alligator, Alligator mississippiensis (Daudin).

The American alligator is an animal that is not present in the Cherokee country (Conant 1975:map 1). The Cherokee probably knew of this animal since aboriginal times through association with other Southeast Indian groups (King 1975:151). Following European contact, the term **julasgi** was extended in meaning to signify 'iron pot,' an imported trade item, probably based upon the toughness of this reptile's skin (King 1975:151; King and King 1976:60).

Birds[1]

This labelled group consists of birds, both native and introduced, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class AVES. Many of the names (42.3%) are based upon their referent's distinctive vocalization(s). Others are descriptive of the animal's physical appearance and/or behavior. Moreover, several words have been borrowed from other languages. Two cover terms are presented, followed by the names for the various included labelled classes.

aninohilidohi 'flying birds' 'flying insects' 'flyers' [/ani-/ ae. 3p.pl. + /-nohil-/ 'fly' VR + /-i-/ epen. + /-do-/ am. DS + /-h-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'flyers' [</ganohili/ 'he/she/it is flying'] DN, SPL.
birds, CHORDATA:AVES;
insects, ARTHROPODA:INSECTA:part.

jisgwa (sg. and pl.) 'bird' [NR] UN, SPL.
bird, CHORDATA:AVES.

According to several early sources, this is a general term that refers to small birds (Jones 1866c:4; Pickering

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[1]The following terms are used regarding the seasonal occurrence of various birds in the Cherokee area, especially in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee:

Year-round resident refers to a bird that stays in the area throughout the year, i.e., permanent resident (sedentary).

Winter refers to a bird that stays in the area for the duration of the winter only.

Spring and summer refers to a bird that stays in the area for the duration of the breeding season only.

Migrant refers to a bird that passes through the area in the spring and/or in the fall.

Occasional visitor refers to a bird that is not regularly present in the area either as a year-round resident or winter or spring/summer occupant or as a migrant; its occurrence is infrequent and unpredictable.

in Krueger 1963:35) and excludes the domestic fowl introduced following European contact (Mooney 1885:115,126, 1900a:280). One early investigator, however, states that the word is applied to any kind of bird (Gatschet 1885a:115, 1885h:6); all other references give the gloss simply as 'bird.'

gajedali 'crane' 'blue crane' 'heron' [UD] UDN, PL.
kanasgowa--lexical synonym. [NR] UN, SPL.
heron, egret, Ardeidae;
great blue heron, Ardea herodias Linnaeus.

These two terms refer to herons and egrets (Witthoft 1946b:374) in general and to the great blue heron in particular (Chiltoskey 1972:14; King 1975:194,232; Mooney 1885:115; Witthoft 1946b:374-375). These birds are often locally called by the English common name "crane" (Peterson 1980:100; Witthoft 1946b:374). The great blue heron is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:54).

unega gajedali 'white crane' 'egret' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nega/ 'white' NR + /gajedali/ 'crane' UD] lit. 'white crane' CT, SL.
tsgwoyi--lexical "alternate classification." [ono?] UN, SPL.
great egret, Casmerodius albus (Linnaeus).

These two terms refer to the great egret, which is often locally called by the English common name "white crane" (Witthoft 1946b:374). The lexical "alternate" **tsgwoyi** may possibly be onomatopoetic, resembling the hoarse croaking voice of the great egret (Kellogg and Allen 1971). The great egret is probably the bird referred to in

early ethnographic/historical accounts as "swan" (Mooney 1900a:284), which served as a symbol of power, prestige, and/or war (see Chapter 6). This bird is occasionally present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (i.e., breeding season) (National Geographic Society 1983:52; Peterson 1980:map 92).

udli 'swan' [UD] UDN, PL.
tundra swan, Cygnus columbianus (Ord)?

This term is used in one of the sacred formulas (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:247-249) and may possibly refer to the tundra swan. Nevertheless, the corresponding western scientific taxon still remains questionable. In early ethnographic/historical accounts, the "swan" is probably the 'white crane,' or great egret (Mooney 1900a:284) (see Chapter 6). The tundra swan is an occasional migrant in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:60; Peterson 1980:map 18).

sasa (sg. and pl.) 'goose' [ono] UN, SPL.
Canada goose, Branta canadensis (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1900a:281,530; Pickens 1943:215) and refers to the Canada goose, which is a migrant in eastern Tennessee (Peterson 1980:map 21; Robbins et al. 1983:42).

dagalga 'blue goose' [ono] UN, SPL.
snow, or blue, goose, Chen caerulescens (Linnaeus)?

According to several sources, this term refers to the greater white-fronted goose, Anser albifrons (Scopoli)

(Mooney 1885:116, 1900a:284,439,514; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:249), a bird that is common near the coast but rare in the mountains (Mooney 1900a:439). One reference, however, applies the word to the blue goose, Chen caerulescens (Linnaeus) (Pickens 1943:215), which is a color morph of the snow goose (National Geographic Society 1983:64; Peterson 1980:44). The greater white-fronted goose is not present in the Cherokee country; it winters along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico and migrates mainly west of the Mississippi River (National Geographic Society 1983:62; Peterson 1980:map 20; Robbins et al. 1983:44). The blue, or snow, goose, on the other hand, does occur, at times, in the Cherokee country; it is an occasional migrant in the area, generally wintering in the Midwest and along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts (National Geographic Society 1983:64; Peterson 1980:map 19). Nevertheless, the corresponding western scientific taxon still remains questionable: The name is supposed to be onomatopoetic (Mooney 1900a:514; Pickens 1943:215) and seems to resemble the voice of several kinds of geese (Kellogg and Allen 1971).

kawonu (sg. and pl.) 'duck' [ono] UN, SPL. duck, Anatidae:Anatinae.

This is a general term referring to ducks (Mooney 1885:116); they are not distinguished by separate names in the early sources. The word is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:215), resembling the quacking sound made by a number of kinds of ducks (Kellogg and Allen 1971). Twenty-two

species of ducks are present in eastern Tennessee, most of which either are present during the winter or are migrants (National Geographic Society 1983:68-88; Peterson 1980:map 23-51):

wood duck	---	Aix sponsa (Linnaeus)
green-winged teal	---	Anas crecca Linnaeus
American black duck	---	Anas rubripes Brewster
mallard	---	Anas platyrhynchos Linnaeus
northern pintail	---	Anas acuta Linnaeus
blue-winged teal	---	Anas discors Linnaeus
northern shoveler	---	Anas clypeata Linnaeus
gadwall	---	Anas strepera Linnaeus
American wigeon	---	Anas americana Gmelin
canvasback	---	Aythya valisineria (Wilson)
redhead	---	Aythya americana (Eyton)
ring-necked duck	---	Aythya collaris (Donovan)
greater scaup	---	Aythya marila (Linnaeus)
lesser scaup	---	Aythya affinis (Eyton)
oldsquaw	---	Clangula hyemalis (Linnaeus)
white-winged scoter	---	Melanitta fusca (Linnaeus)
common goldeneye	---	Bucephala clangula (Linnaeus)
bufflehead	---	Bucephala albeola (Linnaeus)
hooded merganser	---	Lophodytes cucullatus (Linnaeus)
common merganser	---	Mergus merganser Linnaeus
red-breasted merganser	---	Mergus serrator Linnaeus
ruddy duck	---	Oxyura jamaicensis (Gmelin)

suli (sg. and pl.) 'buzzard' [ono < Muskogean 'buzzard'] UN, SPL.
turkey vulture, Cathartes aura (Linnaeus).

The term **suli** resembles the corresponding name in several languages of the Muskogean language family (Witthoft 1946a:179, 1946b:377), e.g., Creek sule (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:12,187) and Choctaw sheki (Byington 1915:328,403), and therefore may have been borrowed (Pickens 1943:215), probably prior to European contact. The word is onomatopoetic, based upon the swishing sound made by the wings as the bird rises (Pickens

1943:215) and/or while it is in flight (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:296). The turkey vulture, which is often locally called by the English common name "buzzard" (National Geographic Society 1983:182; Peterson 1980:160; Pickens 1943:215), is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:182; Peterson 1980:map 176).

kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk' 'osprey' [UD] UDN, PL.
osprey, Pandion haliaetus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the osprey, which is often locally called by the English common name "fish hawk" (Pickens 1943:216; Witthoft 1946b:377). One source notes that the osprey is not "called" a hawk (Mooney 1885:117). The osprey is a migrant in eastern Tennessee (Peterson 1980:map 175; Robbins et al. 1983:78; Tennessee Valley Authority [TVA] 1972).

awohalli (sg. and pl.) 'eagle' [NR] UN, SPL.
awohalli agisi 'female eagle' [/awohalli/ 'eagle' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
awohalli achvya 'male eagle' [/awohalli/ 'eagle' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
bald eagle, Haliaeetus leucocephalus (Linnaeus);
golden eagle, Aquila chrysaetos (Linnaeus).

This term is usually translated in the various sources simply as 'eagle' and therefore may possibly be a general name referring to the two kinds of eagles, bald and golden (Pickens 1943:216), that occur in the Cherokee country; they are present in the area during the winter (National Geographic Society 1983:184; Peterson 1980:map 173,174). Several references, however, are more specific: Mooney

(1900a:281,511) states that the word is applied particularly to the golden eagle, which is also called the "pretty-feathered eagle" (Mooney 1900a:281,511; Pickens 1943:216), whose "beautiful tail feathers, white, tipped with black" (Mooney 1900a:281) were in great demand for decorative and ceremonial purposes (Mooney 1900a:281; Pickens 1943:216) (see Chapter 6). Furthermore, Adair (Mooney 1900a:453; Williams 1930:32) and Pickens (1943:216) note that the bald eagle was not held in great esteem.

Several more recent sources, however, claim that the term **awoha!li** is used exclusively for the bald eagle (Witthoft 1946b:376) and that it was this species that was considered the supreme chief and the most sacred bird, serving as a symbol of peace (Hudson 1976:129, 1984:13-14; Speck and Broom 1951:39-44; Witthoft 1946b:376-377) (see Chapter 6). This bird seems to be the more likely referent: The tail feathers of the adult bald eagle are entirely white (National Geographic Society 1983:184; Peterson 1980:158), which is the Cherokee color for peace (Hudson 1970:52, 1976:132; Mooney 1891:342, 1900b:3).

The tail feathers of the adult golden eagle, on the other hand, are generally very dark. Nevertheless, the immature form of the golden eagle has tail feathers that are white with a broad dark terminal band (National Geographic Society 1983:184; Peterson 1980:158). Indeed, the latter description seems to correspond to the

descriptive account presented by Mooney. It should be noted that Mooney (1900a:281) is the only source that ever mentions the actual color of the eagle's tail feathers.

juwoduhi jugidahli 'golden eagle' [/j-/ dist. + /uw-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-oduhi/ 'pretty' NR + /j-/ dist. + /ugidahli/ 'feather'] lit. 'pretty feathers' CT, UPL.
golden eagle, Aquila chrysaetos (Linnaeus).

This term refers specifically to the golden eagle, which is also called the "pretty-feathered eagle" (Mooney 1900a:281,511; Pickens 1943:216). The descriptive account of its tail feathers as "white, tipped with black" (Mooney 1900a:281) seems to correspond to the immature form of this bird (National Geographic Society 1983:184; Peterson 1980:158).

tawodi (sg. and pl.) 'hawk' [NR] UN, SPL.
hawk, Accipitridae:Accipitrinae:part;
falcon, Falconidae.

This is a general term referring to hawks and falcons.

tawodᶩegwa 'red-tailed hawk' [/tawodi/ 'hawk' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.ag. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit. 'huge hawk' CT, PPL.
red-tailed hawk, Buteo jamaicensis (Gmelin).

The red-tailed hawk is the largest kind of hawk occurring in the Cherokee country (Mooney 1885:117) and is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:194; Peterson 1980:map 167).

digatohnvhida 'marsh hawk' 'chicken hawk' [/di-/ dist. + /gatohga/ 'tail' + /ganvhida/ 'long'] lit. 'long tails' CT, UPL.
sharp-shinned hawk, Accipiter striatus Vieillot;
Cooper's hawk, Accipiter cooperii (Bonaparte).

This term refers to the sharp-shinned hawk and to the Cooper's hawk, both of which are often locally called by the English common names "marsh hawk" and "chicken hawk" (Witthoft 1946b:375). These woodland birds look very similar, having very long tails and short rounded wings; the sharp-shinned hawk is smaller (Bull and Farrand 1977:636,680; National Geographic Society 1983:190; Peterson 1980:152; Robbins et al. 1983:70). Both birds are year-round residents in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:190; Peterson 1980:map 163,164).

digatisgi 'rabbit hawk' [/di-/ dist. + /g-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ati-/ 'stab' VR + /-sg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'stabber' [</gatiha/ 'he/she is stabbing him/her/it'] DN, SPL.
red-shouldered hawk, Buteo lineatus (Gmelin).

This term may refer to this bird's habit of hunting from a perch, swooping down to prey upon rodents, insects, small birds, snakes, and frogs (Bull and Farrand 1977:637-638; Robbins et al. 1983:74). The red-shouldered hawk, which is often locally called by the English common name "brown rabbit hawk" (Mooney 1891:355,356; Pickens 1943:215; Witthoft 1946b:375), is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:192; Peterson 1980:map 170).

sanuwa 'mythical hawk' [NR] UN, SPL.

The **Sanuwa** played an important role in Cherokee mythology and is described as a very large and powerful bird that carried off young children for its food

(Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:437; Lanman 1849:390; Mooney 1885:116, 1900a:284,286,315,466,535; Ten Kate 1889:55) (see Chapter 6).

sanuwa usdi 'pigeon hawk' [/sanuwa/ 'mythical hawk' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-sdi/ 'little' NR] lit. 'little mythical hawk' CT, SL.
broad-winged hawk, Buteo platypterus (Vieillot), or peregrine falcon, Falco peregrinus Tunstall.

The 'little **sanuwa**' is probably the model/representative of the great mythical hawk. This bird is described as being approximately as large as a turkey and grayish-blue in color and as often preying upon wild pigeons in flight (Mooney 1885:120, 1900a:284,466). The same early investigator associates this term with the northern goshawk, Accipiter gentilis (Linnaeus) (Mooney 1885:120, 1900a:284,466,535), a bird that is not present in the Cherokee country (National Geographic Society 1983:190; Peterson 1980:map 165).

Several more recent sources, on the other hand, apply the term **sanuwa usdi** to the broad-winged hawk (King 1975:204,260; Speck and Broom 1951:101; Witthoft 1946b:375), a bird that is the size of a crow (Peterson 1980:156), has a barred rusty and white body and brown back (Bull and Farrand 1977:637), and is present in the Cherokee country during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:192; Peterson 1980:map 171). One recent source, however, claims that the great mythical hawk is modelled after the peregrine falcon (Hudson 1976:129), also a crow-sized bird but with a slate-gray back and bars and

spots below (Bull and Farrand 1977:470; Peterson 1980:162). Furthermore, the peregrine falcon, which became extirpated in eastern North America in the mid-1950s (AOU 1983:128; Bull and Farrand 1977:470; Peterson 1980:map 181), is noted for its swift flight and for its ability to plunge from tremendous heights at an estimated speed of 180 miles (289.6 km) per hour to capture flying birds, particularly pigeons (Bull and Farrand 1977:470). Indeed, the description of the physical appearance (with the exception of size) and behavioral characteristics of the peregrine falcon seems to correspond to the descriptive account presented by Mooney.

gigi 'sparrow hawk' [ono] UN, SPL.
American kestrel, sparrow hawk, Falco sparverius Linnaeus.

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:216; Witthoft 1946b:377) and refers to the American kestrel, or sparrow hawk. The Cherokee considered this bird as one of the prettiest kinds of hawks occurring in the Cherokee country (Witthoft 1946b:377). It is the smallest falcon in the area (National Geographic Society 1983:202; Robbins et al. 1983:80) and is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:202; Peterson 1980:map 179).

giyagiya 'type of hawk' [ono] UN, SPL.
one or several species of hawk, Accipitridae:Accipitrinae sp(p)., or Falconidae sp(p).

This term is probably onomatopoetic, resembling the sound made by a kind of hawk that is mentioned in two of the sacred formulas (Mooney 1891:355-356,381-382) (see Chapter 6) and that is described as being common near the coast but rare in the mountains (Mooney 1891:382). Although the name seems to resemble the voice of the northern harrier, Circus cyaneus (Linnaeus) (Kellogg and Allen 1971), the corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa cannot be accurately determined based upon the description presented.

jitaga (sg. and pl.) 'chicken' [NR < English 'chicken'] UN, SPL.
jitaga agisi 'hen' 'female chicken' [/jitaga/ 'chicken' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
jitaga achvya 'rooster' 'male chicken' [/jitaga/ 'chicken' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
domestic chicken, Gallus gallus (Linnaeus).

The term **jitaga** was borrowed from the English language (King 1975:213,236; King and King 1976:59) in order to accommodate this animal, which was introduced into North America following European contact.

tvdasdi 'pheasant' 'ruffed grouse' [/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /atvdasd-/ 'listen' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS + /-i/ motion MS or ag] lit. 'listener' [</utvdasdi/ 'he/she is listening to him/her/it'] DN, SPL.
ruffed grouse, Bonasa umbellus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the ruffed grouse, which is often locally called by the English common name "pheasant" (Mooney 1900a:285,455,535; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120;

Pickens 1943:216; Witthoft 1946b:377). The word may allude to the drumming sound made by the male ruffed grouse (Davis 1910:45; Kellogg and Allen 1971; Mooney 1900a:290; National Geographic Society 1983:210; Peterson 1980:144) (see Chapter 6). The ruffed grouse is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:210; Peterson 1980:map 152).

gvna (sg. and pl.) 'turkey' [NR] UN, SPL.
duleji--lexical synonym. [NR] UN, SPL. 'kernels'
galagina 'gobbler' 'male turkey' [UD] 'buck' 'large horned beetle' (see **ahwi** 'deer' and **ahwi** 'large horned beetle')
wild turkey, Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus.

The lexical synonym **duleji** 'kernels' is sometimes applied to the wild turkey (Mooney 1900a:285; Pickens 1943:216) and refers to this bird's red throat appendage, which somewhat resembles the goitrous growth known in the South as "kernels" (Mooney 1900a:285) (see Chapter 6). The term **galagina** 'gobbler,' or 'male turkey,' is also glossed as 'buck,' or 'male deer' (King 1975:192,271; Mooney 1900a:518), and, at times, 'large horned beetle' (Mooney 1900a:308,463,518). The wild turkey is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:222; Peterson 1980:map 151).

guhgwe (sg. and pl.) 'quail' 'partridge' 'bobwhite' [ono] UN, SPL.
northern bobwhite, Colinus virginianus (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Brown 1938a:541; Mooney 1885:115, 1900a:281,520; Pickens 1943:216; Witthoft 1946b:377) and refers to the northern bobwhite, which is

often locally called by the English common names "quail" and "partridge" (Witthoft 1946a:178, 1946b:377). The northern bobwhite is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:216; Peterson 1980:map 160).

digagwani 'mud-hen' 'didapper' [/di-/ dist. + /ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-nigwan-/ 'kneel' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'kneeler' 'lame' 'crippled' DN, SPL. rail, gallinule, coot, Rallidae.

This term refers to the common moorhen (Mooney 1900a:284,515), Gallinula chloropus (Linnaeus), a water bird that is approximately the size of a pigeon (Mooney 1885:120) and that is noted for its hen-like red hill (Peterson 1980:64). According to one source, the word may be applied as well to the American coot, Fulica americana Gmelin, and several other local rails (Pickens 1943:216), also in the rail family, Rallidae, all of which are water birds and hen-like in appearance (Peterson 1980:64,112). The name may allude either to the characteristic head-pumping of the moorhen and coot while swimming (bouncing, possibly suggesting difficulty in movement) (Mooney 1900a:515; Peterson 1980:64), and/or to the habit of rails in general of flying very short distances at a time with their legs dangling (Mooney 1885:120, 1900a:284; Peterson 1980:112) and alighting on the water again (Mooney 1885:120). Six other rail species, mostly migrants, are present in eastern Tennessee in addition to the moorhen and coot (which are present during the spring/summer and

winter, respectively) (National Geographic Society 1983:96-100; Peterson 1980:map 52-54,107,108,110-112; Robbins et al. 1983:104-106):

yellow rail	---	Coturnicops noveboracensis (Gmelin)
black rail	---	Laterallus jamaicensis (Gmelin)
king rail	---	Rallus elegans Audubon
Virginia rail	---	Rallus limicola Vieillot
sora	---	Porzana carolina (Linnaeus)
purple gallinule	---	Porphyrula martinica (Linnaeus)

josdowa 'killdeer' [UD] UDN, PL.
killdeer, Charadrius vociferus Linnaeus.

The killdeer is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (Peterson 1980:map 123).

ganvsdawa 'sandpiper' [/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-nvsge/ 'leg' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /adawo-/ 'swim' 'bathe' VR + /-i-/ pres. AS + /-a/ indic. MS] lit. 'swimming leg' [</adawoi:a/ 'he/she is swimming (or bathing)']
CT, UPL.
sandpiper, Scolopacidae:Scolopacinae:part.

This is probably a general term referring to a number of sandpipers and may allude to their long legs wading in the water. Nine species of sandpipers are present in eastern Tennessee (not including greater yellowlegs, common snipe, and American woodcock) and are primarily migrants (National Geographic Society 1983:114-134; Peterson 1980:map 126,134-144):

lesser yellowlegs	---	Tringa flavipes (Gmelin)
solitary sandpiper	---	Tringa solitaria Wilson
spotted sandpiper	---	Actitis macularia (Linnaeus)
upland sandpiper	---	Bartramia longicauda (Bechstein)
semipalmated sandpiper	---	Calidris pusilla (Linnaeus)
least sandpiper	---	Calidris minutilla (Vieillot)

pectoral sandpiper	---	Calidris melanotos (Vieillot)
stilt sandpiper	---	Calidris himantopus (Bonaparte)
long-billed dowitcher	---	Limnodromus scolopaceus (Say)

guwisguwi 'large snipe' [ono] UN, SPL. greater yellowlegs, Tringa melanoleuca (Gmelin), or American bittern, Botaurus lentiginosus (Rackett), or least bittern, Ixobrychus exilis (Gmelin).

This term is onomatopoetic, representing the cry of a bird that is described as resembling a large snipe with yellow legs and unwebbed feet and as being an infrequent visitor in the Cherokee country, migrating in company with flocks of wild geese (Mooney 1900a:285,521). This description presented by Mooney in the mythology seems to correspond with modern ornithological accounts, which represent the greater yellowlegs as having long, bright yellow legs (Bull and Farrand 1977:395-396; National Geographic Society 1983:114; Peterson 1980:128) and as being a migrant in the Cherokee country (National Geographic Society 1983:114; Peterson 1980:map 133; Robbins et al. 1983:120); moreover, the name seems to resemble the voice of this bird (Kellogg and Allen 1971). Olbrechts, however, in reconstructing Mooney's work on the sacred formulas, applies the word to the bittern (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:213,214,248,249). Two species of bitterns, American and least, are present in the Cherokee country, both of which have yellowish legs (Peterson 1980:105): The former species is a migrant, and the latter is an occasional spring/summer visitor in the area (Peterson

1980:map 99,100; Robbins et al. 1983:98). Although the song of the American bittern is very different, the cry of the least bittern sounds somewhat similar to the name **guwisguwi** (Kellogg and Allen 1971). One source claims that the term refers to both the greater and the lesser yellowlegs as well as to the bitterns (Pickens 1943:216). The lesser yellowlegs, Tringa flavipes (Gmelin), however, is noticeably smaller than the greater yellowlegs (Peterson 1980:128), has a song that does not resemble the name **guwisguwi** (Kellogg and Allen 1971), and, therefore, of the four possible identifications, is the least likely to be the bird described in the descriptive account presented by Mooney.

jagosda 'snipe' [/j-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /gosdayi/ 'sharp' NR] (analysis questionable) IN, SPL.
common snipe, Gallinago gallinago (Linnaeus).

Morphological analysis of this term remains questionable and is based upon the suggested analysis presented by one source. The word is supposed to refer to the bird's extremely long slender bill (Pickens 1943:216). The common snipe is present in eastern Tennessee during the winter (Peterson 1980:map 125; Robbins et al. 1983:126).

galvsahyoha 'woodcock' [/g-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-al-/ refl. + /-yvsoli/ 'nose' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-yho-/ 'search for' 'look for' VR + /-h-/ pres. AS + /-a/ indic. MS] lit. 'searching nose' [</ahyoha/ 'he/she is searching (or looking) for him/her'] CT, UPL.
American woodcock, Scolopax minor Gmelin.

This term may refer to the American woodcock's extremely long bill (National Geographic Society 1983:124; Peterson 1980:124), which drags on the ground (Witthoft 1946b:378). The American woodcock is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (Peterson 1980:map 124).

woyi (sg. and pl.) 'pigeon' [NR] UN, SPL.
woya--lexical variant. [NR]
rock dove, domestic pigeon, Columba livia Gmelin; passenger pigeon, +Ectopistes migratorius (Linnaeus).

This term refers both to the passenger pigeon, a native wild bird that became extinct in the early 1900s (AOU 1983:258; Schorger 1973), and to the rock dove, a domestic bird that was introduced into North America (AOU 1983:250-251; Robbins et al. 1983:166; Schorger 1952) by the Europeans in the 1600s (Schorger 1952).

gule disgohnihi (sg.) 'mourning dove' 'turtle dove' [/gule/ 'acorn' NR + /di-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-sgohn-/ 'mourn' VR + /-ih-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'one that mourns (or cries) for acorns' [</asgohniha/ 'he/she is mourning for him/her/it'] CT, UPL.
gule dinisgohnihi (pl.)
mourning dove, Zenaida macroura (Linnaeus).

The mourning dove is noted for its hollow mournful "cooo cooo" cry (Kellogg and Allen 1971; Peterson 1980:180), which somewhat resembles the Cherokee word **gule** 'acorn' (Brown 1938a:547; Gatschet 1885a:116; Mooney 1885:116, 1900a:281,520; Pickens 1943:216; Witthoft 1946b:378). This

bird is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:226; Peterson 1980:map 195).

daluga 'yellow-billed cuckoo' 'rain crow' [ono] UN, SPL.
yellow-billed cuckoo, Coccyzus americanus (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:216-217; Witthoft 1946b:379) and refers to the yellow-billed cuckoo, which is often locally called by the English common name "rain crow" (Bull and Farrand 1977:590; Pickens 1943:216) because of its tendency to utter its call at the approach of a storm (Bull and Farrand 1977:590). The yellow-billed cuckoo is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:236; Peterson 1980:map 197).

wahuhi (sg. and pl.) 'screech owl' [ono] UN, SPL.
eastern screech-owl, Otus asio (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1885:118, 1900a:281,284; Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:379) and refers to the eastern screech-owl, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:242; Peterson 1980:map 184).

tsgili 'great horned owl' [NR] UN, SPL. 'witch'
great horned owl, Bubo virginianus (Gmelin).

Of the three owls named by the Cherokee (Mooney 1885:118, 1900a:283-284,456), the **tsgili** was the most dreaded, was considered an ill omen, and was never killed (Witthoft 1946b:379) (see Chapter 6). Although most

sources associate this term with the great horned owl (Gatschet 1885a:118; Mooney 1885:118, 1887:118, 1900a:241,284,456,538; Pickens 1943:217), several more recent references apply the word to the long-eared owl, Asio otus (Linnaeus) (King 1975:213,254; Witthoft 1946a:180, 1946b:379). The latter bird is smaller and is present in the Cherokee country only during the winter (National Geographic Society 1983:238; Peterson 1980:map 185), whereas the great horned owl is a year-round resident in the area (National Geographic Society 1983:238; Peterson 1980:map 186). The term **tsgili** was expanded in meaning to signify 'witch': Both the great horned owl and witches were characterized by mysterious occult power and indulged in their activities only at night (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:29) (see Chapter 6).

uguku (sg.) 'hooting owl' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-guku/ ono] IN, SPL.
uniguku (pl.)
barred owl, Strix varia Barton.

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1885:118, 1900a:281,284,541; Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:379) and refers to the barred owl, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:240; Peterson 1980:map 187).

galsdoga 'nighthawk' 'bullbat' [UD] UDN, PL.
common nighthawk, Chordeiles minor (Forster).

The gloss 'bullbat' is frequently used as a local English common name for the common nighthawk (Pickens

1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:379). This bird is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:250; Peterson 1980:map 200).

waguli 'whip-poor-will' [ono] UN, SPL. whip-poor-will, Caprimulgus vociferus Wilson.

This term is onomatopoetic (Brown 1938a:548; Gatschet 1885a:120; Mooney 1900a:281,545; Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:379) and refers to the whip-poor-will, whose cry was said to be an ill omen. This bird was not killed and was much hated (Witthoft 1946b:379) (see Chapter 6). The whip-poor-will is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:248; Peterson 1980:map 201).

anigosdayi 'chimney swift' [/ani-/ ae. 3p.pl. + /gosdayi/ 'sharp' NR] lit. 'they are sharp' IN, SPL. chimney swift, Chaetura pelagica (Linnaeus).

This term may possibly refer to the spindle-like form of the chimney swift while it is in flight as its tail is closed rather than expanded or fanned (Pickens 1943:217). The plural prefix may be indicative of the fact that the chimney swift is usually seen in flocks (Robbins et al. 1983:184). This bird is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:252; Peterson 1980:map 238).

walela (sg. and pl.) 'hummingbird' [NR] UN, SPL.
ruby-throated hummingbird, Archilochus colubris (Linnaeus).

This term may refer to the rolling sound made by the ruby-throated hummingbird (Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:380) (cf. **gasagwalehiha** 'he/she is rolling him/her/it') (Feeling 1975:114). The ruby-throated hummingbird is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:258; Peterson 1980:map 204).

jatla 'kingfisher' [ono] UN, SPL.
belted kingfisher, Ceryle alcyon (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Witthoft 1946b:380) and refers to the belted kingfisher, which is present in various parts of eastern Tennessee either year-round or only during the spring and summer (Peterson 1980:map 205).

dalala (sg. and pl.) 'red-headed woodpecker' [ono] UN, SPL.
red-bellied woodpecker, Melanerpes carolinus (Linnaeus).

A number of sources associate this term with the red-headed woodpecker, Melanerpes erythrocephalus (Linnaeus) (Gatschet 1885a:120; King 1975:208,264; Mooney 1885:120; Pickens 1943:217; Speck and Broom 1951:59; Witthoft 1946b:380). One recent reference, however, applies the word to the red-bellied woodpecker (Hudson 1976:130,513). Both birds are noted for their red heads, and, quite often, the two may be confused in identification. The name is onomatopoetic (Hudson 1976:513; Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:380) and seems to resemble more closely the

startling, hoarse trill of the red-bellied woodpecker (Hudson 1976:513; Kellogg and Allen 1971). (See **dala** 'treefrog/tree toad.') The red-bellied woodpecker is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:264; Peterson 1980:map 209).

julilena 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'
[ono < /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-lilena/ 'deaf' NR]
IN, SPL. 'deaf'
yellow-bellied sapsucker, Sphyrapicus varius (Linnaeus).

The term **julilena** is probably onomatopoetic, resembling this bird's song, which, in turn, is similar to the Cherokee word for 'deaf' (Pickens 1943:217-218). The corresponding western scientific taxon differs among the various sources. In his published works, Mooney (1900a:281,539) associates this term with the white-breasted nuthatch, Sitta carolinensis Latham (see **duweyela** 'nuthatch'). It is interesting to note, however, that, in his 1885 manuscript (Mooney 1885:120), the gloss 'sapsucker' is written and subsequently crossed out, being replaced by the gloss 'nuthatch'; furthermore, he remarks that the **julilena** and the downy woodpecker look very similar, though the downy woodpecker has a larger black spot (i.e., black stripe) on the back of its head (Mooney 1885:116). This descriptive account of the **julilena** seems to correspond to the sapsucker, which is the bird identified by several other sources (King 1975:214,281; Pickens 1943:217-218; Witthoft 1946a:178, 1946b:380). The yellow-bellied sapsucker is present in eastern Tennessee

during the spring and summer (AOU 1983:387-388; Peterson 1980:map 211).

jisgwenuji 'downy woodpecker' 'hairy woodpecker' [/jisgwa/ 'bird' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nuji/ 'younger brother' 'son-in-law' NR] lit. 'bird's younger brother' CT, PPL.
downy woodpecker, Picoides pubescens (Linnaeus);
hairy woodpecker, Picoides villosus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the downy woodpecker, which is the smallest kind of woodpecker occurring in the Cherokee country (Bull and Farrand 1977:643), and to the hairy woodpecker (Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:380). These two birds look very similar: The hairy woodpecker is larger and has a long bill; the downy woodpecker is smaller and has a short, slender bill (National Geographic Society 1983:270; Peterson 1980:192; Robbins et al. 1983:200). Both birds are year-round residents in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:270; Peterson 1980:map 212,213).

unegada 'yellowhammer' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nega/ 'white' NR + /gada/ 'soil' NR] lit. 'white soil' CT, UPL.
northern flicker, Colaptes auratus (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the northern flicker, which is often locally called by the English common name "yellowhammer" (Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:380). The word may allude to this bird's conspicuous white rump (National Geographic Society 1983:264; Peterson 1980:190), which appears as a blotch against the soil while the bird is on the ground preying upon insects (Witthoft 1946b:380). One source notes that the yellowhammer is not "called" a

woodpecker (Mooney 1885:120). The northern flicker is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:264; Peterson 1980:map 208).

gvgwoga (sg. and pl.) 'pileated woodpecker' 'wood hen' [ono] UN, SPL.
pileated woodpecker, Dryocopus pileatus (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Witthoft 1946b:380) and refers to the pileated woodpecker, which is often locally called by the English common name "wood hen" (Pickens 1943:217; Witthoft 1946b:380). It is described as a large black woodpecker (Mooney 1885:120) that is red-headed and that lives in swampy areas, feeding upon bugs in trees (Mooney 1885:121). The pileated woodpecker is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:274; Peterson 1980:map 207).

jaja 'type of woodpecker' [ono] UN, SPL.
one or several species of woodpecker, Picidae:Picinae sp(p).

This term is supposed to be onomatopoetic (Gatschet 1885a:120; Pickens 1943:217), resembling the sound made by a kind of woodpecker that is described as being spotted (Gatschet 1885a:120). One source applies the word to the red-bellied woodpecker (Pickens 1943:217), Melanerpes carolinus (Linnaeus). The name, indeed, seems to resemble some of this bird's vocalizations (Kellogg and Allen 1971) and thus may possibly represent an alternate onomatopoetic rendition for the 'red-headed woodpecker.' Nevertheless,

the corresponding western scientific taxon or taxa cannot be accurately determined based upon the description presented.

henilu 'wood pewee' [ono] UN, SPL.
eastern wood-pewee, Contopus virens (Linnaeus).

This term is probably onomatopoetic and refers to the eastern wood-pewee, which is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:284; Peterson 1980:map 221).

tsgoyalaktosdi 'least flycatcher' [/tsgoya/ 'insect' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.). + /aktosd-/ 'look' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS + /-i/ motion MS or ag] lit. 'insect looker' [</aktosdi/ 'he/she is looking at him/her/it'] CT, UPL.
least flycatcher, Empidonax minimus (Baird and Baird).

The least flycatcher is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:290; Peterson 1980:map 226).

gulisguli 'great crested flycatcher' [ono] UN, SPL.
great crested flycatcher, Myiarchus crinitus (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Witthoft 1946b:380) and refers to the great crested flycatcher, which is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:282; Peterson 1980:map 220).

judigwanujugi 'scissor-tailed flycatcher' [/j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-digwanujugi/ 'forked'?] (analysis questionable) UDN, PL.
scissor-tailed flycatcher, Tyrannus forficatus (Gmelin).

Morphological analysis of this term remains questionable and is based upon the suggested analysis

presented by one source. The word is supposed to refer to the bird's extremely long forked, or scissor-like, tail (Mooney 1900a:285,539). The same early investigator associates this term with the scissor-tailed flycatcher, a bird that is a rare visitor in the Cherokee country (Mooney 1900a:285,539). This bird is described as being pale blue in color, with red in places, and nearly the size of a crow (Mooney 1900a:285). This description seems to correspond with modern ornithological accounts, which represent the scissor-tailed flycatcher as being pale pearly gray, with a long scissor-like tail and salmon-pink sides and wing linings (Bull and Farrand 1977:513; National Geographic Society 1983:280; Peterson 1980:194). In addition, this bird is fairly rare, occasionally visiting the Cherokee country during the spring and summer (AOU 1983:475; Peterson 1980:map 216).

More recent sources, on the other hand, apply the term **judigwanujugi** to the barn swallow, Hirundo rustica Linnaeus (King 1975:215,230; Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:380), a bird that also has a deeply forked tail (Bull and Farrand 1977:507; National Geographic Society 1983:298; Peterson 1980:202). The barn swallow, however, is much smaller than a crow (Bull and Farrand 1977:507,565; National Geographic Society 1983:298,306; Peterson 1980:202,206), is common in the Cherokee country during the spring and summer (National

Geographic Society 1983:298; Peterson 1980:map 234), and is therefore not the bird described in the descriptive account presented by Mooney.

dludlu (sg. and pl.) 'purple martin' [ono] UN, SPL. purple martin, Progne subis (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Marnett 1939:12; Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:380) and refers to the purple martin, which is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:296; Peterson 1980:map 232).

dlayhga (sg. and pl.) 'blue jay' [ono] UN, SPL. blue jay, Cyanocitta cristata (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Brown 1938a:535; Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:381) and refers to the blue jay, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:302; Peterson 1980:map 242).

koga (sg. and pl.) 'crow' [ono] UN, SPL. American crow, Corvus brachyrhynchos Brehm.

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1900a:281,523; Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:381) and refers to the American crow, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:306; Peterson 1980:map 240).

kolana 'raven' [ono] UN, SPL.
common raven, Corvus corax Linnaeus.

This term is onomatopoetic (Witthoft 1946b:381) and refers to the common raven, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:306; Peterson 1980:map 241).

jigilili (sg. and pl.) 'chickadee' 'tomtit' [ono] UN, SPL.
Carolina chickadee, Parus carolinensis Audubon.

The term **jigilili** resembles the corresponding name in several other languages of the Iroquoian language family, e.g., Oneida tskleleli and Mohawk tsksereri, as well as the English common name "chickadee" (Mooney 1885:119). This apparent similarity may have resulted from the onomatopoetic nature of these words (Brown 1938a:528; Mooney 1885:119, 1900a:281,537; Pickens 1943:218; Witthoft 1946b:381). The Cherokee, like the Oneidas and Mohawks, also regarded the chickadee as a news bringer (Mooney 1885:119, 1900a:285-286) and, moreover, considered it a truth teller (Mooney 1900a:285-286,319; Witthoft 1946a:177-178, 1946b:381) (see Chapter 6). The Carolina chickadee, which is often locally called by the English common name "tomtit" (Pickens 1943:218), is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (Peterson 1980:map 247).

ujugi 'tufted titmouse' [UD] UDN, PL.
usdidi--lexical synonym. [UD] UDN, PL.
tufted titmouse, Parus bicolor Linnaeus.

The tufted titmouse, which is often found together with the Carolina chickadee, is a larger bird and is

distinguished by its crest (Peterson 1980:210; Robbins et al. 1983:230). It was also regarded as a news bringer (Mooney 1900a:285-286); the tufted titmouse, however, was viewed as a lying messenger, whereas the Carolina chickadee was considered a truth teller (Mooney 1900a:285-286,318-319; Witthoft 1946a:177-178, 1946b:381) (see Chapter 6). The tufted titmouse is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:308; Peterson 1980:map 249).

duweyela 'nuthatch' [UD] UDN, PL. nuthatch, Sitta spp.

The nuthatch is noted for being a tree-climber and for having a strong woodpecker-like bill (Peterson 1980:212) and, consequently, may be confused at times with certain woodpeckers (Pickens 1943:217-218) (see **julilena** 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'). Thus one source gives the gloss for this term simply as 'woodpecker' (Mooney 1885:120). Two species of nuthatches are present in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:314; Peterson 1980:map 250,251):

red-breasted nuthatch	---	Sitta canadensis Linnaeus
white-breasted nuthatch	---	Sitta carolinensis Latham

The white-breasted nuthatch is a year-round resident, and the red-breasted nuthatch is present in various parts of eastern Tennessee either year-round or only during the

winter (National Geographic Society 1983:314; Peterson 1980:map 250,251).

jiji (sg. and pl.) 'winter wren' [ono] UN, SPL. winter wren, Troglodytes troglodytes (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:219; Witthoft 1946b:382) and refers to the winter wren, which is present in various parts of eastern Tennessee either year-round or only during the winter (Peterson 1980:map 255).

jagwolide (sg. and pl.) 'bluebird' [ono] UN, SPL. eastern bluebird, Sialia sialis (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:220; Witthoft 1946b:382) and refers to the eastern bluebird, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:324; Peterson 1980:map 266).

kawoga 'wood thrush' [ono] UN, SPL. wood thrush, Hylocichla mustelina (Gmelin).

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:219; Witthoft 1946b:382) and refers to the wood thrush, which is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:326; Peterson 1980:map 273).

jisgwogwo (sg. and pl.) 'robin' [ono] UN, SPL. American robin, Turdus migratorius Linnaeus.

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:219; Witthoft 1946b:382) and refers to the American robin, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (Peterson 1980:map 267; Rohhins et al. 1983:244).

ujima (sg.) 'catbird' [/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-jima/ 'catbird' NR] IN, SPL. 'wilted'
unijima (pl.) 'sweet corn'
gray catbird, Dumetella carolinensis (Linnaeus).

The term **ujima** also means 'wilted' (Mooney 1887:115), or 'not smooth' (Witthoft 1946b:382). The plural form **unijima**, in turn, was expanded in meaning to signify 'sweet corn' (King 1975:32; Mooney 1887:115; Witthoft 1946b:382) because of the shrivelled appearance of the grains (Mooney 1887:115; Witthoft 1946b:382) in contrast to the smooth surface of the local Indian varieties (Witthoft 1946b:382). The explanation for the association between the gray catbird and the other meanings of the terms **ujima** and **unijima** remains undetermined. The gray catbird is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:334; Peterson 1980:map 264).

wadahyeli 'brown thrasher' [/w-/ trans. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg). + /-ada-/ refl. + /-hyel-/ 'imitate' 'mock' VR + /-i!-/ pres. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'imitator' [</ahyeli!a/ 'he/she is imitating (or mocking) him/her/it'] DN, SPL.
brown thrasher, Toxostoma rufum (Linnaeus).

This term may refer to the fact that the brown thrasher is noted for being an excellent songster and mimic, who usually sings each phrase of its song in pairs (Peterson 1980:218; Robbins et al. 1983:240). It is described as being larger than a mockingbird (Mooney 1885:115) and as having long tail feathers (Mooney 1885:119). The brown

thrasher is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:336; Peterson 1980:map 263).

huhu (sg. and pl.) 'yellow-breasted chat' 'yellow mockingbird' [ono] UN, SPL.
yellow-breasted chat, Icteria virens (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Mooney 1900a:281,456,522; Pickens 1943:220) and refers to the yellow-breasted chat, which is often locally called by the English common name "yellow mockingbird" (Mooney 1900a:456,522; Pickens 1943:220) because of its mimic powers (Mooney 1900a:285,456) (see Chapter 6). The yellow-breasted chat is the largest kind of warbler, family Emberizidae, subfamily Parulinae, occurring in the Cherokee country (National Geographic Society 1983:376) and is present in eastern Tennessee during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:376; Peterson 1980:map 320).

tojuhwa (sg. and pl.) 'redbird' [ono] UN, SPL.
northern cardinal, Cardinalis cardinalis (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Witthoft 1946b:383) and refers to the northern cardinal, which is often locally called by the English common name "redbird" (Pickens 1943:221; Witthoft 1946b:383). The northern cardinal is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:382; Peterson 1980:map 351).

jawisga 'towhee' [ono] UN, SPL. rufous-sided towhee, Pipilo erythrophthalmus (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Butrick n.d.a:58, n.d.b:132; Pickens 1943:221; Witthoft 1946b:383-384) and refers to the rufous-sided towhee, which is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:386; Peterson 1980:map 366).

jisgwaya 'sparrow' [/jisgwa/ 'bird' NR + /-ya/ 'principal' int. ATS] lit. 'principal bird' DN, PPL. sparrow, Emberizidae:Emberizinae:part.

This is a general term referring to sparrows, which, according to the literal meaning, may have been very common in the Cherokee country (Brown 1938a:544; Mooney 1900a:281,537); except for the fox sparrow, they are not distinguished by separate names in the early sources. According to several recent sources, the word is applied more specifically to the house sparrow, Passer domesticus (Linnaeus) (King 1975:213,270; King and King 1976:60), an Old World sparrow, family Passeridae, that was introduced in large numbers into North America in the 1850s (AOU 1983:764-765; National Geographic Society 1983:432; Peterson 1980:262, map 341), i.e., subsequent to the time period under study. This bird resembles the native sparrow but has shorter legs and a thicker beak (National Geographic Society 1983:432; Robbins et al. 1983:296). Seventeen species of sparrows occur in eastern Tennessee, most

of which either are present during the winter or spring and summer or are migrants (National Geographic Society 1983:388-406; Peterson 1980:map 367-387):

Bachman's sparrow	---	Aimophila aestivalis (Lichtenstein)
American tree sparrow	---	Spizella arborea (Wilson)
chipping sparrow	---	Spizella passerina (Bechstein)
field sparrow	---	Spizella pusilla (Wilson)
Vesper sparrow	---	Pooecetes gramineus (Gmelin)
lark sparrow	---	Chondestes grammacus (Say)
Savannah sparrow	---	Passerculus sandwichensis (Gmelin)
grasshopper sparrow	---	Ammodramus savannarum (Gmelin)
Henslow's sparrow	---	Ammodramus henslowii (Audubon)
Le Conte's sparrow	---	Ammodramus leconteii (Audubon)
sharp-tailed sparrow	---	Ammodramus caudacutus (Gmelin)
fox sparrow	---	Passerella iliaca (Merrem)
song sparrow	---	Melospiza melodia (Wilson)
Lincoln's sparrow	---	Melospiza lincolnii (Audubon)
swamp sparrow	---	Melospiza georgiana (Latham)
white-throated sparrow	---	Zonotrichia albicollis (Gmelin)
white-crowned sparrow	---	Zonotrichia leucophrys (Forster)

wogvda 'fox sparrow' [NR] UN, SPL.
fox sparrow, Passerella iliaca (Merrem).

The fox sparrow is present in eastern Tennessee during the winter (National Geographic Society 1983:406; Peterson 1980:map 378).

tuti 'snowbird' [ono] UN, SPL.
dark-eyed junco, Junco hyemalis (Linnaeus).

This term is onomatopoetic (Pickens 1943:221) and refers to the dark-eyed junco, which is often locally called by the English common name "snowbird" (Pickens

1943:221; Witthoft 1946b:384), possibly because of its white outer tail feathers that flash conspicuously as it flies (National Geographic Society 1983:402; Peterson 1980:266). The dark-eyed junco is present in various parts of eastern Tennessee either year-round or only during the winter (National Geographic Society 1983:402; Peterson 1980:map 349).

tsgwilisda 'blackbird' [UD] UDN, PL. blackbird, Emberizidae:Icterinae:tribe Agelaiini.

This is a general term referring to blackbirds. Four species of blackbirds are present in eastern Tennessee and are year-round residents, with the exception of the rusty blackbird (which is present during the winter) (National Geographic Society 1983:420-424; Peterson 1980:map 324,326,327,329):

red-winged blackbird	---	Agelaius phoeniceus (Linnaeus)
rusty blackbird	---	Euphagus carolinus (Muller)
common grackle	---	Quiscalus quiscula (Linnaeus)
brown-headed cowbird	---	Molothrus ater (Boddaert)

nokwsi (sg. and pl.) 'meadowlark' [NR] UN, SPL. 'star'
eastern meadowlark, Sturnella magna (Linnaeus).

The term **nokwsi** originally meant 'star' and was expanded in meaning to signify 'meadowlark' because of the shape of the bird's tail in flight (Gatschet 1885a:118; Mooney 1885:118, 1900a:281; Pickens 1943:221; Witthoft

1946b:383): The conspicuous patches of white on each side of its short wide tail resemble a star. The eastern meadowlark is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:418; Peterson 1980: map 332).

wolida 'oriole' [NR] UN, SPL.
oriole, Icterus spp.

This term refers to the oriole, which is described as characteristically building woven, hanging nests (Witthoft 1946b:383). Two species of orioles occur in eastern Tennessee and are present during the spring and summer (National Geographic Society 1983:426; Peterson 1980:map 335,336):

orchard oriole --- Icterus spurius (Linnaeus)
northern oriole --- Icterus galbula (Linnaeus)

wadaga 'goldfinch' 'flaxbird' [NR] UN, SPL.
American goldfinch, Carduelis tristis (Linnaeus).

This term refers to the American goldfinch, which is often locally called by the English common name "flaxbird" (Witthoft 1946b:383) and is noted for frequenting patches of thistles and weeds (National Geographic Society 1983:434; Peterson 1980:272; Robbins et al. 1983:320; Witthoft 1946b:383). The American goldfinch is a year-round resident in eastern Tennessee (National Geographic Society 1983:434; Peterson 1980:map 360).

Mammals

This labelled group consists of mammals, both native and introduced, corresponding to western scientific taxa within the class MAMMALIA. Many of the names (55.3%) are represented by simple unmarked forms, i.e., uninflected nouns, several of which have been borrowed from other languages. The remaining words are either derived nouns or composite terms and are often descriptive of the physical appearance and/or behavior of the animal referent. The cover term is presented first, followed by the names for the various included labelled classes.

nvhgi-dikanasa!dv 'quadruped' 'four-footed beast' [/nvhgi/ 'four' PT + /di-/ dist. + /ka-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-nasa!dv!i/ 'toe'] lit. 'four-toed' CT, UPL. mammal, CHORDATA:MAMMALIA:part.

This is a general term referring to most kinds of mammals.

tinegwa 'mole' [/tina/ 'louse' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit. 'huge louse' CT, UPL. mole, Talpidae.

The association between the mole and the louse may be based upon two traits, one physical and one behavioral, that these animals exhibit in common. Both creatures have small heads with very minute inconspicuous eyes (Borror and White 1970:108-109; Burt and Grossenheider 1976:16) and are pests that crawl around (the mole, on or more often beneath the surface of the ground in burrows, and the louse, on its host, i.e., mammals including humans) in a

nonvisible fashion. Three species of moles are present in eastern Tennessee (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:17-19,20; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:56-63; Linzey and Linzey 1971:11-14):

hairy-tailed mole	---	Parascalops breweri (Bachman)
eastern mole	---	Scalopus aquaticus (Linnaeus)
star-nosed mole	---	Condylura cristata (Linnaeus)

dlameha (sg. and pl.) 'bat' [NR] UN, SPL.
plainnose bat, Vespertilionidae.

The plainnose bat is the only bat family occurring in the Cherokee country. Twelve species of bats are present in eastern Tennessee (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:24-41; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:66-108; Linzey and Linzey 1971:14-19,81-82):

little brown bat	---	Myotis lucifugus (Le Conte)
gray bat	---	Myotis grisescens A.H. Howell
Keen's bat	---	Myotis keenii (Merriam)
Indiana bat	---	Myotis sodalis Miller and Allen
small-footed bat	---	Myotis leibii (Audubon and Bachman)
silver-haired bat	---	Lasionycterus noctivagans (Le Conte)
eastern pipistrel	---	Pipistrellus subflavus (F. Cuvier)
big brown bat	---	Eptesicus fuscus (Beauvois)
red bat	---	Lasiurus borealis (Muller)
hoary bat	---	Lasiurus cinereus (Beauvois)
evening bat	---	Nycticeius humeralis (Rafinesque)
Rafinesque's big-eared bat	---	Plecotus rafinesquii (Lesson)

jisdu (sg. and pl.) 'rabbit' [NR] UN, SPL.
eastern cottontail, Sylvilagus floridanus (Allen).

kiyuga (sg. and pl.) 'ground squirrel' 'chipmunk' [NR] UN, SPL.
eastern chipmunk, Tamias striatus (Linnaeus).

ogana (sg. and pl.) 'groundhog' 'woodchuck' [NR] UN, SPL.
woodchuck, groundhog, Marmota monax (Linnaeus).

saloli (sg. and pl.) 'squirrel' 'gray squirrel' [NR] UN, SPL.
squirrel, Sciuridae:part;
gray squirrel, Sciurus carolinensis Gmelin.

This term refers to squirrels in general (King 1975:204,271; Mooney 1885:111, 1900a:530) (genus Sciurus and possibly red squirrel, Tamiasciurus hudsonicus [Erxleben]) and to the gray squirrel in particular (Brown 1938a:544; King 1975:204,247; Marnett 1939:16; Mooney 1885:111, 1900a:262,525,530).

saloli wodi 'fox squirrel' [/saloli/ 'squirrel' NR + /wodigeli/ 'brown' 'red'] lit. 'brown/red squirrel' CT, SL.
fox squirrel, Sciurus niger (Linnaeus).

The fox squirrel is the largest kind of squirrel occurring in the Cherokee country and is distinguished by its rusty brown color (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:118-120; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:157-160; Linzey and Linzey 1971:27-28).

tewa (sg. and pl.) 'flying squirrel' [NR] UN, SPL.
flying squirrel, Glaucomys spp.

One source notes that the flying squirrel is not "called" a squirrel (Mooney 1885:111). Two species of flying squirrels are present in eastern Tennessee (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:122-124; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:163-168; Linzey and Linzey 1971:30-31):

southern flying squirrel --- Glaucomys volans (Linnaeus)
northern flying squirrel --- Glaucomys sabrinus (Shaw)

doya (sg. and pl.) 'beaver' [NR] UN, SPL. beaver, Castor canadensis (Kuhl).

jisdeji (sg. and pl.) 'mouse' 'rat' [NR] UN, SPL. mouse/rat, Muridae:part; long-tailed weasel, Mustela frenata Lichtenstein; shrew, Soricidae?

This is a general term referring to mice and rats, both native and introduced. It also includes the long-tailed weasel, which, in western scientific taxonomy, is considered a carnivore (Hall 1981:980-981,993-999; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:290-292) rather than a rodent, and perhaps the shrew, an insectivore.

jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/rat' [/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /dlogesi/ 'field' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /eh-/ 'dwell' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'mouse/rat dwelling (or living) in the field' [/ehi/ 'dweller' DN </eha/ 'he/she dwells'] CT, PPL. New World mouse/rat, Muridae:Cricetinae:part.

This term refers to several kinds of field mice and/or rats. Three species are present in eastern Tennessee that tend to occur in field habitats (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:153-154,172-174; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:179-184,205-207; Linzey and Linzey 1971:33-34,39):

marsh rice rat --- Oryzomys palustris (Harlan)
eastern harvest mouse --- Reithrodontomys humulis (Audubon and Bachman)
hispid cotton rat --- Sigmodon hispidus Say and Ord

jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat' [/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /inagei/ 'forest' + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /eh-/ 'dwell' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'mouse/rat dwelling (or living) in the forest' [/ehi/ 'dweller' DN </eha/ 'he/she dwells'] CT, PPL.
New World mouse/rat, Muridae:Cricetinae:part.

This term refers to several kinds of wood mice and/or rats. One source applies the word to the white-footed mouse, genus Peromyscus, a rodent whose nest looks like a bird's nest (Mooney 1885:110). This description seems to correspond to five species present in eastern Tennessee that tend to occur in wooded habitats (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:158-165,167-168,170; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:186-204,207-211; Linzey and Linzey 1971:35-39,40-41):

deer mouse	---	Peromyscus maniculatus Wagner
white-footed mouse	---	Peromyscus leucopus (Rafinesque)
cotton mouse	---	Peromyscus gossypinus (Le Conte)
golden mouse	---	Ochrotomys nuttalli (Harlan)
eastern wood rat	---	Neotoma floridana (Ord)

jisdeji usdi 'house mouse' [/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-sdi/ 'little' NR] lit. 'little mouse/rat' CT, PPL.
house mouse, Mus musculus Linnaeus.

The house mouse was introduced into North America (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:237,242-244; Linzey and Linzey 1971:47-48,49; Whitaker 1980:520-521) by the Europeans in the 1500s (Whitaker 1980:520).

jisdeji daloni 'weasel' [/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /dalonigei/ 'yellow'] lit. 'yellow mouse/rat' CT, PPL.
long-tailed weasel, Mustela frenata Lichtenstein.

The Cherokee grouped the long-tailed weasel with other mice and rats, whereas, in western scientific taxonomy, it

is considered a carnivore rather than a rodent and is in the weasel family, Mustelidae (Hall 1981:980-981,993-999; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:290-292). The long-tailed weasel has a long slender body that is brownish with yellowish-white underparts (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:58; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:290-292) and approximates the gray squirrel in size (Linzey and Linzey 1971:64).

jisdeji utana 'house rat' [/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-atana/ 'big' NR] lit. 'big mouse/rat' CT, PPL.
dohwela--lexical synonym. [NR] UN, SPL. Norway rat, brown rat, house rat, Rattus norvegicus (Berkenhout).

The Norway, or brown, or house, rat was introduced into North America (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:237,240-242; Linzey and Linzey 1971:47-48; Whitaker 1980:518-520) by the Europeans in the 1770s (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:237,241; Whitaker 1980:518).

kanikwsa (sg. and pl.) 'black rat' [NR] UN, SPL. black rat, roof rat, Rattus rattus (Linnaeus).

The black, or roof, rat is described as being smaller than the house rat (Mooney 1887:111). It was introduced into North America (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:237-240; Linzey and Linzey 1971:47-49; Whitaker 1980:516-517) by the Europeans in the 1600s (Whitaker 1980:517).

talsgewi 'shrew' 'type of field mouse' [NR] UN, SPL.
nvnogalihwogi--lexical synonym. [/nvnohi/ 'road' + /ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-lihwo-/ 'die' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'die in the road' [</galihwoga/ 'it (animal, plant) is dying'] CT, UPL. shrew, Soricidae.

These two terms are glossed as a 'type of field mouse' (Mooney 1885:110, 1887:110), though the same early investigator also notes that this animal is not "called" a mouse or rat (Mooney 1885:111). This creature is described as a very small short-tailed mouse (Mooney 1885:110) that generally dwells in the ruins of old houses (Butrick n.d.a:56) and is probably the shrew (Chiltoskey 1972:17; King 1975:209,268). The lexical synonym **nvnogalihwogi** may refer to this animal's unsuccessful attempts at crossing paths, frequently dying in the middle of the road (Butrick n.d.a:56). Eight species of shrews are present in eastern Tennessee (Burt and Grossenheider 1976:3-16; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:31-55; Linzey and Linzey 1971:5-11):

masked shrew --- Sorex cinereus Kerr
southeastern shrew --- Sorex longirostris (Bachman)
water shrew --- Sorex palustris (Richardson)
smoky shrew --- Sorex fumeus (Miller)
long-tailed shrew --- Sorex dispar Batchelder
pygmy shrew --- Microsorex hoyi (Baird)
short-tailed shrew --- Blarina brevicauda (Say)
least shrew --- Cryptotis parva (Say)

seligsgwa 'muskrat' [NR] UN, SPL.
muskrat, Ondatra zibethicus (Linnaeus).

gihli (sg. and pl.) 'dog' [NR] UN, SPL.
gihli-nida (pl.) 'puppy' 'young dog' [/gihli/ 'dog' NR + /ani-/ ae. 3p.pl. + /-ida/ 'young animal' NR]
gihli agisi 'female dog' [/gihli/ 'dog' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
gihli achvya 'male dog' [/gihli/ 'dog' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
gihli jukanvstahli 'male dog' [/gihli/ 'dog' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
domestic dog, Canis familiaris Linnaeus.

The dog is the only native domestic animal occurring in the Cherokee country.

wahya (sg. and pl.) 'wolf' 'gray wolf' [ono] UN, SPL.
wahaya--lexical variant. [ono] gray wolf, Canis lupus Linnaeus.

The gray wolf is the only wolf found in the Cherokee country (Mooney 1885:111). The terms **wahya** and **wahaya** are onomatopoetic, resemhling the distinctive howl made by this animal (Mooney 1900a:546). The gray wolf became extirpated in the Cherokee country circa 1890 (Linzey and Linzey 1971:52,53-54).

juhla (sg. and pl.) 'fox' 'gray fox' [NR < Muskogean 'fox'] UN, SPL.
juhla sakonige!iyusdi--lexical variant. [/juhla/ 'fox' NR + /sakonige!i/ 'blue' + /-iyusdi/ 'like' char. ATS] lit. 'like hlue (hluish) fox'
fox, Canidae:part;
gray fox, Urocyon cinereoargenteus (Schreber).

The term **juhla** resemhles the corresponding name in several languages of the Muskogean language family, e.g., Creek cula (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:32,115) and Choctaw chula (Byington 1915:114,455), and therefore may have been borrowed, probably prior to European contact. This word refers to foxes (gray and red) in general and to the gray fox in particular (Mooney 1885:109). When a distinction must he made between the two kinds, the lexical variant **juhla sakonige!iyusdi** is used.

juhla wodige 'red fox' [/juhla/ 'fox' NR + /wodige!i/ 'brown' 'red'] lit. 'hrown/red fox' CT, SL.
red fox, Vulpes vulpes Linnaeus.

yona (sg. and pl.) 'bear' [NR] UN, SPL.
yona agisi 'female bear' [/yona/ 'bear' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
yona achvya 'male bear' [/yona/ 'bear' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
black bear, Ursus americanus (Pallas).

galos-ganvhida 'mythical bear' [/gagalo/ 'ham' NR + /s/ UD + /ganvhida/ 'long'] lit. 'long ham' CT, UPL.

This animal is "described as a large black bear with long legs and small feet, which is always lean, and which the hunter does not intend to shoot, possibly on account of its leanness" (Mooney 1900a:264,328) (see Chapter 6).

kvhli (sg. and pl.) 'raccoon' [NR] UN, SPL.
eastern raccoon, Procyon lotor (Linnaeus).

svgi (sg. and pl.) 'mink' [/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /sv-/ 'smell' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'one that smells' [</asvga/ 'it smells'] DN, SPL. 'onion,' Allium spp.
mink, Mustela vison Schreber.

This term refers to the mink and to the onion (Allium spp.) plant (Mooney 1900a:532), both of which are noted for their powerful smells. The mink possesses prominent anal glands that emit strong offensive odors, particularly during the mating season (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:295).

dila (sg. and pl.) 'skunk' 'polecat' [NR] UN, SPL.
eastern spotted skunk, Spilogale putorius (Linnaeus); striped skunk, Mephitis mephitis (Schreber).

The gloss 'polecat' is frequently used as a local English common name both for the eastern spotted skunk and for the striped skunk (Lowery 1974:432,438). The latter

animal is the larger and more common of the two species occurring in the Cherokee country (Linzey and Linzey 1971:65-67).

jiya 'otter' [NR] UN, SPL.
river otter, Lutra canadensis (Schreber).

The river otter became extirpated in the Cherokee country in the 1920s (Linzey and Linzey 1971:67).

tlvdaji (sg. and pl.) 'panther' 'mountain lion' [NR] UN, SPL.
mountain lion, cougar, panther, Felis concolor Linnaeus.

The mountain lion became extirpated in the Cherokee country in the 1920s (Linzey and Linzey 1971:68-70).

wesa (sg. and pl.) 'cat' [NR < Spanish 'pussy'] UN, SPL.
alda wesa 'kitten' 'young cat' [/a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-lda/ 'young animal' NR + /wesa/ 'cat' NR]
wesa agisi 'female cat' [/wesa/ 'cat' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
wesa achvya 'male cat' [/wesa/ 'cat' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
wesa jukanvstahli 'male cat' [/wesa/ 'cat' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
domestic cat, Felis catus Linnaeus.

The term **wesa** was borrowed from the Spanish language, i.e., miz 'pussy' (King 1975:223,235; King and King 1976:59; Sturtevant 1962:54), in order to accommodate this animal, which was introduced into North America following European contact. It is interesting to note that the phonemes constituting the borrowed form were modified in order to fit within the Cherokee phonological system, e.g., replacement of the initial hilabial nasal /m/ by /w/.

gvhe (sg. and pl.) 'wildcat' 'bobcat' [NR] UN, SPL. bobcat, Lynx rufus (Schreber).

The gloss 'wildcat' is frequently used as a local English common name for the bobcat (Linzey and Linzey 1971:70).

kamama utana 'elephant' [/kamama/ 'butterfly' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-atana/ 'big' NR] lit. 'big butterfly' CT, UPL.
elephant, Elephantidae.

The term **kamama** originally meant 'butterfly.' During the nineteenth century, the attributive **utana** 'big' was added to this word, which, in turn, was expanded in meaning to signify 'elephant,' an Old World animal that was introduced by travelling circuses, because of a supposed resemblance of the long trunk and flapping ears of the pachyderm to the proboscis and wings, respectively, of the butterfly (King and King 1976:60; Mooney 1885:126, 1900a:265,524) (see **kamama** 'butterfly'). The term **kamama utana** has been shortened in modern Cherokee language sources to the earlier unmarked linguistic form **kamama** (Alexander 1971:49; Chiltoskey 1972:11; Feeling 1975:138,200; Holmes and Smith 1977:44; King 1975:194,233; King and King 1976:60), which is the form most commonly used today. It is uncertain whether the Cherokee were familiar with this animal as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

sogwili (sg. and pl.) 'horse' [/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /sogwil-/ 'bear burden' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'burden bearer' [</usogwila/ or /asogwila/ 'he/she bears a burden'] DN, SPL.
sogwili agina 'colt' 'young horse' [/sogwili/ 'horse' + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gina/ 'young animal' NR]
sogwili agisi 'mare' 'female horse' [/sogwili/ 'horse' + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
sogwili jukanvstahli 'stallion' 'male horse' [/sogwili/ 'horse' + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
domestic horse, Equus caballus Linnaeus.

This term may have been derived from the verb **usogwila** (Gabelentz in Krueger 1963:29) or **asogwila** (Mooney 1900a:530). The horse was introduced into North America by the Europeans in the 1500s (Lowery 1974:510-511).

sogwili digalenvhida (sg.) 'donkey' 'mule' [/sogwili/ 'horse' + /di-/ dist. + /ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-!leni/ 'ear' NR + /ganvhida/ 'long'] lit. 'long-eared horse' CT, SL.
domestic ass, donkey, Equus asinus Linnaeus;
mule, Equus caballus Linnaeus X Equus asinus Linnaeus, i.e., hybrid.

The donkey and the mule both are related to the horse and were introduced into North America (Lowery 1974:511-512). It is uncertain whether the Cherokee were familiar with these animals as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century.

sihgwa (sg. and pl.) 'pig' 'hog' [NR < Muskogean 'opossum'] UN, SPL.
sihgwa agisi 'sow' 'female pig/hog' [/sihgwa/ 'pig/hog' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
sihgwa achvya 'boar' 'male pig/hog' [/sihgwa/ 'pig/hog' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-chvya/ 'male animal' NR]
domestic pig/hog, Suidae;
opossum, Didelphidae;
domestic pig/hog, Sus scrofa Linnaeus.

According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **sihgwa** may serve as a general term referring to the pig/hog, an animal that was introduced into North America (Lowery 1974:512-513), as well as to the native opossum. Nevertheless, it is usually applied more specifically to the former animal. The term was borrowed from the Muskogean language family (King and King 1976:59) and, according to several sources, was originally the name applied to the opossum (Mooney 1900a:265,531; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:163,299; Olbrechts 1930b). With the introduction of swine following European contact, this word was transferred to the latter animal, and the opossum, in turn, became referred to as **sihgwa ujetsdi**, or 'grinning pig/hog' (Mooney 1900a:265,531; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:299). Such a phenomenon also occurs in Creek, a Muskogean language, which may have been the source for the Cherokee borrowing as well as may have set the precedent for the subsequent changes, i.e., Creek suk'hv 'hog' and suk'hv-hv'tke 'opossum,' or 'white hog' (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:39,55,150,187). Moreover, two Southeast Indian languages within the Siouan language family exhibit this pattern: Biloxi kcicka or kcixka 'hog' and kcixka yoka' 'opossum,' or 'swamp hog' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:213,295); and Ofo feska' 'hog' and feska-tca'ki 'opossum,' or 'forest hog' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:323). In several Muskogean languages, a term phonetically similar to 'opossum' is applied to 'pig'

and/or 'hog,' e.g., Choctaw shukha 'hog/swine' and shukata 'opossum' (Byington 1915:334,472,511,577). This semantic replacement may be based upon a number of physical and behavioral characteristics that these two animals exhibit in common, including a long snout and naked tail, an omnivorous scavenging diet, a preference for woody habitats near water, and the bearing of offspring in litters. One reference states that the term was not borrowed until after European contact and was immediately applied to the 'pig/hog' (King and King 1976:59), but provides no supporting data for such a claim. Another source mentions that, though **sihgwa** denotes 'pig/hog' in Cherokee secular vocabulary, it still stands for 'opossum' in the ritual language, i.e., recorded oral traditions (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:163). One early ethnographic/historical account uses the same term for both animals (Williams 1930:17,60).

sihgwa ujetsdi (sg.) 'opossum' [/sihgwa/ 'pig/hog' NR + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-ajetsd-/ 'grin' VR + /Ø/ pres. AS + /-i/ motion MS or ag] lit. 'grinning pig/hog' [</ujetsdi/ 'he/she is grinning'] CT, SL.
sihgwa uyetsga--lexical variant. [/sihgwa/ 'pig/hog' NR + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-yets-/ 'smile' 'laugh' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS + /-a/ indic. MS] lit. 'smiling (or laughing) pig/hog' [</uyetsga/ 'he/she is smiling (or laughing)']
Virginia opossum, Didelphis virginiana Kerr.

The term **sihgwa ujetsdi** has been shortened in modern Cherokee language sources to the linguistic form **ujetsdi** (Alexander 1971:73; Feeling 1975:170,214; King 1975:217,258), which is the form most commonly used today.

ahwi (sg. and pl.) 'deer' [NR] UN, SPL. 'large horned beetle' (see **ahwi** 'large horned beetle')
ahawi--lexical variant. [NR]
ahwi agina 'fawn' 'young deer' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gina/ 'young animal' NR]
ahwi agisi 'doe' 'female deer' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
galagina 'buck' 'male deer' [UD] 'gobbler' 'large horned beetle' (see **gvna** 'turkey' and **ahwi** 'large horned beetle')
ahwi jukanvstahli 'buck' 'male deer' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
deer, elk, Cervidae;
goat, sheep, Bovidae:part;
white-tailed deer, CHORDATA:MAMMALIA:Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert);
stag beetle, ARTHROPODA:INSECTA:Lucanidae.

According to Cherokee animal nomenclatural patterns as discovered in the present linguistic analysis, **ahwi** may serve as a general term referring to the native deer and elk as well as to the goat and sheep, two animals that were introduced into North America following European contact. Nevertheless, it is usually applied more specifically to the white-tailed deer, the most important animal in the Cherokee culture (Mooney 1900a:263). The words **ahwi** 'deer' and **galagina** 'buck,' or 'male deer,' are secondarily defined as 'large horned beetle' (Mooney 1900a:308,463, 511,518). Furthermore, the term **galagina** 'buck,' or 'male deer,' is also glossed as 'gobbler,' or 'male turkey' (King 1975:192,271; Mooney 1900a:518).

ahwi egwa 'elk' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit. 'huge deer' CT, SL.
ahawi egwa--lexical variant.
elk, wapiti, Cervus canadensis Erxleben.

The elk became extirpated in the Cherokee country in the mid-1800s (Linzey and Linzey 1971:74).

ahwi-ahanulvhi 'goat' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-hanulv/ 'beard' 'whisker' + /-hi/ UD] lit. 'bearded deer' CT, SL.
ahawi-ahanulvhi--lexical variant.
juksgwanagida--lexical "alternate classification." [UD] UDN, PL.
domestic goat, Capra hircus Linnaeus.

These three terms refer to the goat, an animal that was introduced into North America following European contact. An additional lexical term, **uksojaneda**, has been applied to this animal; this word, however, only appears in modern Cherokee language sources (Alexander 1971:68; Feeling 1975:172,203; Holmes and Smith 1977:274) and therefore is not included in the present analysis. It is interesting to note that, within the Choctaw language, the term for 'goat' is isi kosoma, or 'smelly deer' (Byington 1915:194,195, 238,461), thereby demonstrating similarity in the classificatory system of the two languages.

ahwi-unodena (sg.) 'sheep' [/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nodena/ 'woolly' 'downy (attached to animal)' NR] lit. 'woolly deer' CT, SL.
ahawi-unodena--lexical variant.
unodena--lexical variant.
ahwi-unodena jukanvstahli 'ram' 'male sheep' [/ahwi-unodena/ 'sheep' + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
domestic sheep, Ovis aries Linnaeus.

These terms refer to the sheep, an animal that was introduced into North America following European contact. The word **ahwi-unodena** has been shortened in modern Cherokee

language sources to the linguistic form **unodena** (Chiltoskey 1972:22; Feeling 1975:177,218; Holmes and Smith 1977:141,283; King 1975:219,268), which is the form most commonly used today.

yansa (sg. and pl.) 'buffalo' [NR < Muskogean 'buffalo'] UN, SPL.
yanasa--lexical variant. [NR] bison, buffalo, Bison bison (Linnaeus).

The term **yansa** resembles the corresponding name in the languages of several Southeast Indian language families (Haas 1973:1225; King and King 1976:59; Mooney 1900a:263,547), including the following: Muskogean--Creek yvnv'sv (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:11,224), Choctaw yannash (Byington 1915:372,394,402), Alabama-Koasati yanasa, and Hitchiti yanas-i (Haas 1973:1225); Siouan --Biloxi yinisa' (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:293); Natchez yanasah (Haas 1973:1225); and Tunica yanisi (Haas 1973:1225). It has been suggested that this word may have been borrowed from such languages, probably prior to European contact (King and King 1976:59). The buffalo became extirpated in the Cherokee country in the late 1700s (Harper 1958:30; Linzey and Linzey 1971:76-77; Rostlund 1960; Williams 1930:445-446).

wahga (sg. and pl.) 'cattle' 'cow' [NR < Spanish 'cow'] UN, SPL.
wahga agina 'calf' 'young cattle' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gina/ 'young animal' NR]
wahga agisi 'cow' 'female cattle' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR]
wahga ganegi!ehi 'milch cow' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-negi!e-/ 'milk' 'take from him/her/it (liquid)' class. VR + /-h-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'milking cattle' [</ganegi!eha/ 'he/she is milking it' 'he/she is taking liquid from him/her/it']
wahga jukanvstahli 'bull' 'male cattle' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-akanv/ 'testicles' NR + /s/ UD + /-atoli/ 'penis' NR] (analysis questionable)
wahga gana!li 'ox' 'male cattle' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /gana!li/ 'castrated']
wahga julvhwisdanehi 'ox' 'male cattle' [/wahga/ 'cattle' NR + /j-/ dist. + /u-/ se. Ø to 3p.sg. + /-lvhwisdane-/ 'work' VR + /-h-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit. 'working cattle' [</dulvhwisdaneha/ 'he/she is working']
domestic cattle, Bos taurus Linnaeus.

The term **wahga** refers to the cow, or female cattle, as well as to cattle in general; the attributive **agisi** 'female animal' is added only when a distinction is made between the genders. The word was borrowed from the Spanish language, i.e., vaca 'cow' (Bloom 1942:332; King 1975:222,238; King and King 1976:59; Marnett 1939:4; Mooney 1885:192, 1900a:265,545; Pickering in Krueger 1963:34; Sturtevant 1962:54), in order to accommodate this animal, which was introduced into North America following European contact. Two sources suggest that the term may have come into the Cherokee language by way of the Creek Indians (Bloom 1942:332; Sturtevant 1962:54), i.e., Creek wakv 'cow/cattle' (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:14,19,218). Apparently, this Spanish term was also borrowed by other Southeast Indian languages, such as Choctaw wak (Byington 1915:361,407,420),

another Muskogean language (Haas 1971:50, 1973:1212-1213), and Biloxi wak (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:286), a Siouan language (Haas 1971:50, 1973:1221-1222). It is interesting to note that the phonemes constituting the borrowed form were modified in order to fit within the Cherokee phonological system, e.g., replacement of the bilabial fricative /ƀ/ (v) by /w/.

agisegwa 'mythical Great Female' 'animal god' [/a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gisi/ 'female animal' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit. 'huge female animal' CT, UPL.

The 'Great Female,' or possibly 'Great Doe,' a large mythical female animal, is mentioned in one of the sacred formulas (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:225-226) and was probably an animal god (Mooney 1900a:507) (see Chapter 6).

Cherokee Animal Names--Data Summaries

A total of 231 animal names have been presented in the preceding section (Table 4-1). This amount consists of all primary names as well as certain secondary names, i.e., lexical synonyms and lexical "alternate classifications." These secondary names are included throughout the nomenclatural analysis presented in this section, as it is virtually impossible to determine their relative frequency of usage (compared to that of primary names) based upon the kinds of linguistic sources, i.e., early written records, employed for this study. Those names not included

Table 4-1
Tabulation of Cherokee Animal Names
(by Major Western Grouping)

Major Western Grouping	Number of Cherokee Animal Names	Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Animal Names
Invertebrates	49	21.2%
Fish	20	8.7%
Herpetofauna	37	16.0%
Birds	78	33.8%
Mammals	47	20.3%
Total	231	100.0%

in the above figure are lexical variants (12 names), plural forms (11), and terms for the female, male, and/or young of particular animal classes (30). Furthermore, any term that serves as a name for several animal classes, each of which belongs to a different major faunal group, is counted only once, that is, with the animal class to which the name primarily applies, e.g., **ahwi** 'deer' and **jisdvna** 'crayfish' rather than with 'large horned beetle,' and **aninohilidohi** 'flying birds' rather than with 'insects.'

Noun Categories

The distribution of the animal names among the various noun categories previously defined for the Cherokee language (see Chapters 2 and 3) is presented in Tables 4-2 and 4-3.

Unflected nouns constitute the greatest proportion (55.0%) and most frequently assume one of 12 canonical forms, including (in decreasing order of occurrence): CVCVCV, CVCV, CVCCV, CVCVCVCV, VCVCV, CVCCVCV, CVCVCCV, CVCVCCVCV, CVCCCV, VCVCCV, CCVCVCV, and CCVCCV. A number of additional types occur only once or twice. It should be noted that the more complex and uncommon ones are generally, though not necessarily, represented by onomatopoetic names. Illustrative examples of each canonical form are listed in Table 4-4.

Table 4-2
Distribution of Cherokee Animal Names
(by Major Western Grouping)
Among Noun Categories

Major Western Grouping	Noun Category					Total Cherokee Animal Names
	Uninflected Noun (UN)	Inflected Noun (IN)	Derived Noun (DN)	Composite Term (CT)	Undetermined Type of Noun (UDN)	
Invertebrates	29 (59.2%)	2 (4.1%)	6 (12.2%)	11 (22.4%)	1 (2.0%)	49 (21.2%)
Fish	9 (45.0%)	3 (15.0%)	3 (15.0%)	4 (20.0%)	1 (5.0%)	20 (8.7%)
Herpetofauna	17 (45.9%)	0 (0%)	5 (13.5%)	9 (24.3%)	6 (16.2%)	37 (16.0%)
Birds	46 (59.0%)	5 (6.4%)	6 (7.7%)	11 (14.1%)	10 (12.8%)	78 (33.8%)
Mammals	26 (55.3%)	0 (0%)	2 (4.3%)	18 (38.3%)	1 (2.1%)	47 (20.3%)
Total	127 (55.0%)	10 (4.3%)	22 (9.5%)	53 (22.9%)	19 (8.2%)	231 (100.0%)

Table 4-3
Summary of Distribution of Cherokee Animal Names
Among Noun Categories

Noun Category	Number of Cherokee Animal Names	Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Animal Names
Uninflected Noun (UN)	127	55.0%
Inflected Noun (IN)	10	4.3%
Derived Noun (DN)	22	9.5%
Composite Term (CT)	53	22.9%
Undetermined Type of Noun (UDN)	19	8.2%
Total	231	100.0%

Table 4-4
Examples of Canonical Forms of Uninflected Nouns
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Canonical Form (in decreasing order of occurrence)	Number of Occurrences	Example	
		Cherokee Animal Name--Uninflected Noun	English Gloss
CVCVCV	30	**sigigi**	'katydid'
		kolana	'raven'
		saloli	'squirrel'
CVCV	24	**dala**	'treefrog/ tree toad'
		gvna	'turkey'
		yona	'bear'
CVCCV	13	**daksi**	'terrapin'
		jisdu	'rabbit'
		gihli	'dog'
CVCVCVCV	6	**wadulisi**	'bee'
		saligugi	'water turtle'
VCVCV	6	**oliga**	'redhorse fish'
		ogana	'groundhog/ woodchuck'
CVCCVCV	5	**sehwada**	'hornet'
		jisdeji	'mouse/rat'
CVCVCCV	5	**wasohla**	'red-brown moth/tobacco worm'
		julasgi	'alligator'
CVCVCCVCV	5	**selagwoya**	'greensnake'
		gulisguli	'great crested flycatcher'
CVCCCV	4	**jisgwa**	'bird'
VCVCCV	4	**elagwa**	'snail'
CCVCVCV	3	**dlameha**	'bat'
CCVCCV	3	**chuhga**	'flea'

Table 4-4--continued.

Canonical Form (in decreasing order of occurrence)	Number of Occurrences	Example: Cherokee Animal Name--Uninflected Noun	Example: English Gloss
CVCCVCVCV	2	**jagwolide**	'bluebird'
CVCVCCCV	2	**kanikwsa**	'black rat'
CVCVCVCCV	2	**tiyoha!li**	'lizard'
CCCVCV	2	**tsgoya**	'insect/worm'
CCCCVCV	1	**tsgwoyi**	'white crane/ egret'
CVCVCCCCV	1	**seligsgwa**	'muskrat'
VCCV	1	**ahwi**	'deer'
VCV	1	**vle**	'locust'
VCVCVCCV	1	**awoha!li**	'eagle'
CCVCVCCV	1	**tlvdegwa**	'eel'
CVCCCCVCV	1	**gahlgwogi**	'mole cricket'
CVCCVCCV	1	**jasgay!i**	'yellow-jacket'
CVCCCVCCV	1	**jisgwogwo**	'robin'
CCVCCCV	1	**dlayhga**	'blue jay'
CVCCCVCV	1	**talsgewi**	'shrew/type of field mouse'
Total Number of Cherokee Animal Names--Uninflected Nouns		127	

Inflected nouns are least common, accounting for only 4.3 percent of the lexicon. Derived nouns (9.5%) are predominantly theme formations, and only three names --**oligiyusdi** 'white sucker,' **ajadiya** 'salmon,' and **jisgwaya** 'sparrow'--consist of a noun root with an attributive suffix. Composite terms (22.9%) are comprised of various structural combinations, which are demonstrated in Table 4-5. Additional examples of the animal names within each of the noun categories are presented in Table 4-6.

Linguistic Processes in Name Formation

Linguistic processes, particularly those dealing with vocabulary and meaning, constitute an integral part in the formation and modification of the Cherokee animal nomenclature. Three major kinds of processes are common in the present data set: external borrowing; semantic shift (extension and replacement), i.e., internal borrowing; and descriptive derivation, also involving internal linguistic change (King and King 1976) (see Chapter 3).

Among the Cherokee animal nomenclature, external borrowing appears to be primarily for the purpose of the fulfillment of certain needs (King and King 1976:58-59). Although the majority of the lexicon is related to corresponding labels in other Iroquoian languages and thus originated within the Cherokee language, several names are derived from unrelated, or foreign, sources (Table 4-7). The names of several native

Table 4-5
Examples of Composite Terms
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Composite Term Form	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Head(h)/Attributive(a) Distinction
Head+Attributive			
Uninflected Noun +Inflected Noun	**doyunisi**	'water beetle/ mellow bug'	h[/doya/'beaver']h a[/unisi/'paternal grandchild or grandparent']a
Uninflected Noun +Derived Noun	**sihgwa ujetsdi**	'opossum'	h[/sihgwa/'pig/hog']h a[/ujetsdi/'grinning']a
Uninflected Noun +Composite Term	**tuya-diskahlawidisgi**	'June-bug'	h[/tuya/'beans']h a[/diska/'head' +/ahlawidisgi/'flyer']a
Inflected Noun +Derived Noun	**juktajisdahli**	'copperhead snake'	h[/jukta/'eyeball']h a[/ajisdahli/'ignited']a
Derived Noun +Derived Noun	**digsi digasagwalehlidohi**	'tumhlehug'	h[/digsi/'feces']h a[/digasagwalehlidohi/ 'roller']a
Derived Noun +Composite Term	**kanalnesgi amayehi**	'water spider'	h[/kanalnesgi/'spider']h a[/amayi/'in water' +/ehi/'dweller']a
Attributive+Head			
Inflected Noun +Uninflected Noun	**unegada**	'yellowhammer'	a[/unega/'white']a h[/gada/'soil']h

Table 4-6
Examples of Cherokee Animal Names
Within Each Noun Category

Noun Category	Example		
	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Morpheme Constituents
Uninflected Noun (UN)	**daksi**	'terrapin'	[NR]
	inada	'snake'	[NR]
	gvna	'turkey'	[NR]
	jisdu	'rabbit'	[NR]
	doya	'beaver'	[NR]
Inflected Noun (IN)	**agola**	'sun perch'	[/a-/ ae. 3p.sg. + /-gola/ 'sun perch' NR]
	uguku	'hooting owl'	[/u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-guku/ ono]
	anigosdayi	'chimney swift'	[/ani-/ ae. 3p.pl. + /gosdayi/ 'sharp' NR]

Derived Noun (DN)	**didasdoyesgi**	'cricket'	[/di-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-ada-/ refl. + /-sdoye-/ 'cut hair' VR + /-sg-/ imperf. AS + /-i/ ag]
	galuysdi	'bed bug'	[/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-luy-/ 'chop' VR + /-sd-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS]
	jisgwaya	'sparrow'	[/jisgwa/ 'bird' NR + /-ya/ 'principal' int. ATS]
Composite Term (CT)	**gule disgohnihi**	'mourning dove/ turtle dove'	[/gule/ 'acorn' NR + /di-/ dist. + /a-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-sgohn-/ 'mourn' VR + /-ih-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag]
	jisdeji usdi	'house mouse'	[/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-sdi/ 'little' NR]
	jisdeji daloni	'weasel'	[/jisdeji/ 'mouse/rat' NR + /dalonige!i/ 'yellow']

Table 4-7
Cherokee Animal Names--
Borrowed Terms

Type of Animal	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Source	Time of Borrowing
Native Animal (wild)	**gahlgwogi**	'mole cricket'	Muskogean language family	Pre contact
	suli	'buzzard'	Muskogean language family	Pre contact
	juhla	'fox'	Muskogean language family	Pre contact
	sihgwa	'opossum' became 'pig/hog'	Muskogean language family	Pre contact
	yansa	'buffalo'	Muskogean language family	Pre contact
Introduced Animal (domestic)	**jitaga**	'chicken'	English	Post contact
	wesa	'cat'	Spanish	Post contact
	wahga	'cattle'	Spanish	Post contact

animals--**gahlgwogi** 'mole cricket,' **suli** 'buzzard,' **juhla** 'fox,' **sihgwa** 'opossum,' and **yansa** 'buffalo'--were borrowed prior to European contact from Muskogean, a family of languages spoken by other Southeast Indian groups, e.g., Creek, Choctaw, and Hitchiti. Following European contact and the concomitant introduction of Old World animals, a few vocabulary words were borrowed from European languages in order to accommodate the new cultural items. These terms included **wahga** 'cattle' from the Spanish vaca 'cow' (Bloom 1942:332; King 1975:222,238; King and King 1976:59; Marnett 1939:4; Mooney 1885:192, 1900a:265,545; Pickering in Krueger 1963:34; Sturtevant 1962:54), **wesa** 'cat' from the Spanish miz 'pussy' (King 1975:223,235; King and King 1976:59; Sturtevant 1962:54), and **jitaga** 'chicken' from the English (King 1975:213,236; King and King 1976:59). Furthermore, the phonemes constituting these three borrowed forms were modified in order to fit within the Cherokee phonological system. Thus, the absence of bilabial fricatives resulted in the replacement of /ƀ/ (v) by /w/ in **wahga**, and the lack of initial bilabial nasals led to the replacement of /m/ by /w/ in **wesa**. Such alterations, in turn, demonstrate the full phonemization of the borrowed words into the Cherokee language.

Semantic extension is a type of meaning shift that is very common in Cherokee (King and King 1976:59-60). Among Cherokee animal names, such extensions may express a

reference to another animal (e.g., **ahwi** 'deer'/'large horned beetle'), plant (e.g., **selagwoya** 'greensnake'/'bear-grass'), or inanimate object (e.g., **daksi** 'terrapin'/'padlock' and **julasgi** 'alligator'/'iron pot') (Table 4-8). It is important to note that the direction of extension is ambiguous in some cases (e.g., **svgi** 'mink'/'onion'). Thus, the animal designation may not necessarily have been precedent and, in a few examples (e.g., **duleji** 'turkey'/'kernels' and **nokwsi** 'meadowlark'/'star'), is known to be secondary. Finally, two animal names are onomatopoetic renderings that resemble words already established in the Cherokee language--**gahlgwogi** 'mole cricket'/'seven' and **julilena** 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'/'deaf'--and, as a result, the animal referents may be considered semantic extensions.

A second type of semantic shift, replacement of meaning, also occurs in Cherokee, though much less frequently. Two examples have been found in the animal nomenclature. The term **sihgwa**, a borrowed linguistic form (King and King 1976:59), was originally the name applied to the native opossum (Mooney 1900a:265,531; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:163,299; Olbrechts 1930b); with the introduction of swine following European contact, this word was transferred to the latter animal, and the opossum, in turn, became referred to as **sihgwa ujetsdi**, or 'grinning pig/hog' (Mooney 1900a:265,531; Mooney and Olbrechts

Table 4-8
Cherokee Animal Names--
Semantic Extension

Type of Referents	Cherokee Animal Name	English Animal Gloss[a]	Other Meaning(s)[b]
native animal/ native animal	**jisdvna**	'crayfish'	'large horned beetle'
	ahwi	'deer'	'large horned beetle'
	galagina	'buck'	'gobbler' 'large horned beetle'
native animal/ nonlocal animal	**dagwa**	'mythical fish'	'whale'
animal/plant	**dugalvlna**	'type of small fish'	'gourd'
	selagwoya	'greensnake'	'bear-grass'
	svgi	'mink'	'onion'
animal/human type	**didasdoyesgi**	'cricket'	'barber'
	nvyuhnuwi	'cow-ant'	'Stone Man'
	tsgili	'great horned owl'	'witch'
animal/ native inanimate object	**juganoji**	'centipede'	'leather'
	ganvnowa	'type of dragonfly'	'pipe'
	galuysdi	'bed bug'	'stone axe'
	wadulisi	'bee'	'honey'
	nokwsi	'meadowlark'	'star'

animal/ introduced inanimate object	**galuysdi**	'bed bug'	'metal axe'
	gugu	'tick'	'bottle' 'vial'
	kanaʔnesgi	'spider'	'clock' 'watch'
	dilsdoyhdi	'water spider'	'scissors'
	daksi	'terrapin'	'padlock'
	julasgi	'alligator'	'iron pot'
animal/ miscellaneous	**gahlgwogi**	'mole cricket'	'seven'
	dagvna	'mussel'	'pimple'
	julisdanali	'blue catfish'	'shoals'
	walosi	'toad'	'warts'
	duleji	'turkey'	'kernels'
	juliʔena	'yellow-bellied sapsucker'	'deaf'
	ujima	'catbird'	'wilted'

[a]The animal glosses are not necessarily the primary meaning of the Cherokee term and, in several cases, may be the secondary meaning (see text of Chapter 4).

[b]The other meaning(s) are not necessarily the secondary meaning of the Cherokee term and, in several cases, may be the primary meaning (see text of Chapter 4).

1932:299). Likewise, **wadulisi** was probably first used for the native bumble bee but, following European contact, was switched to the introduced honey bee; the former insect was subsequently called **wadulisi utana**, or 'big bee.' It should be noted that, in both of the exemplified pairs, semantic replacement resulted in the labelling of the introduced animals by the simpler (unmarked) linguistic form, whereas their native counterparts became linguistically marked (see Berlin 1972:82-83).

Descriptive derivation, the third kind of linguistic process in Cherokee, results in the formation of derived nouns and composite terms (King and King 1976:60-61). The former are either noun roots with an attributive suffix (e.g., **jisgwaya** 'sparrow') or nominalized verbs, i.e., themes (e.g., **gaɬlegi** 'blacksnake' and **sogwili** 'horse'). Composite terms, on the other hand, consist of the compounding of two or more roots and/or stems (roots with inflectional and/or derivational affixes) in order to form a binomial expression (e.g., **giga-juholi** 'bloody-mouth lizard' and **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep'). Several examples of the various derivational formations are shown in Table 4-9.

A combination of two or three of the foregoing linguistic processes is evident in the formation of a number of Cherokee animal names. External borrowing followed later on by semantic extension is exemplified by **gahlgwogi**, a word borrowed from the Muskogean language

Table 4-9
Examples of Cherokee Animal Names--
Descriptive Derivation

Type of Description Derivation	Example		
	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Morpheme Constituents
Derived Noun-- noun root + suffix	**ajadiya**	'salmon'	[/aja!di/ 'fish' NR + /-va/ 'principal' int. ATS] lit.'principal fish'
	jisgwaya	'sparrow'	[/jisgwa/ 'bird' NR + /-va/ 'principal' int. ATS] lit.'principal bird'
Derived Noun-- nominalized verb	**galuysdi**	'bed bug'	[/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-luy-/ 'chop' VR + /-sd-/ inf. AS + /-i/ inf. MS] lit.'chopper'
	ga!legi	'blacksnake'	[/ga-/ ae. 3p.sg. (to 3p.sg.) + /-!le-/ 'climb' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit.'climber'
	svgi	'mink'	[/Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /sv-/ 'smell' VR + /-g-/ pres. AS or imperf. AS + /-i/ ag] lit.'one that smells'

Composite Term--multiple roots	**giga-juholi**	'bloody-mouth lizard'	[/giga/ 'blood' NR + /i-/ dist. + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-holi/ 'mouth' NR] lit.'bloody mouth'
	tawodiegwa	'red-tailed hawk'	[/tawodi/ 'hawk' NR + /Ø/ ae. 3p.sg. + /egwa/ 'huge' NR] lit.'huge hawk'
	ahwi-unodena	'sheep'	[/ahwi/ 'deer' NR + /u-/ se. 3p.sg. + /-nodena/ 'woolly' NR] lit.'woolly deer'

family in order to denote 'seven' and subsequently expanded to include 'mole cricket' based upon this insect's song, which, in turn, is similar to this term. Descriptive derivation and semantic extension are noted for such names as **didasdoyesgi** 'cricket/'barber,' **dilsdoyhdi** 'water spider'/'scissors,' and **svgi** 'mink'/'onion.' Semantic shift (both extension and replacement) and descriptive derivation are exhibited by the term **wadulisi**, which was first applied to the native bumble bee and later to the honey bee (replacement) as well as to the honey produced by this introduced domestic insect (extension); the former insect was subsequently called **wadulisi utana**, or 'big bee' (descriptive derivation). Finally, all three major processes are involved in the naming of the opossum and swine: **Sihgwa**, a term borrowed from the Muskogean language family for opossum (external borrowing), was transferred to swine (semantic replacement), and the former became referred to as **sihgwa ujetsdi**, or 'grinning pig/hog' (descriptive derivation) (Table 4-10). Such a phenomenon also occurs in Creek, a Muskogean language, which may have been the source for the Cherokee borrowing as well as may have set the precedent for the subsequent changes, i.e., Creek suk'hv 'hog' and suk'hv-hv'tke 'opossum,' or 'white hog' (Loughridge and Hodge 1914:39,55,150,187).

Table 4-10
Formation of Certain Cherokee Animal Names
by a Combination of Linguistic Processes

Linguistic Processes in Combination	Cherokee Animal Name	English Glosses
external borrowing + semantic shift (extension)	**gahlgwogi**	'mole cricket' 'seven'
descriptive derivation + semantic shift (extension)	**didasdoyesgi**	'cricket' 'barber'
	galuysdi	'bed bug' 'stone axe' 'metal axe'
	nvyuhnuwi	'cow-ant' 'Stone Man'
	kanalnesgi	'spider' 'clock' 'watch'
	dilsdoyhdi	'water spider' 'scissors'
	svgi	'mink' 'onion'
semantic shift (extension and replacement) + descriptive derivation	**wadulisi** and **wadulisi utana**	'bee' 'honey' 'bumble bee'
external borrowing + semantic shift (replacement) + descriptive derivation	**sihgwa** and **sihgwa ujetsdi**	'pig/hog' 'opossum'

General Semantic Patterns

This section deals with the kinds of meanings represented in Cherokee animal nomenclature. Patterns of marking age and gender are presented, followed by the grouping of many of the names according to certain semantic dimensions. These are individually discussed in the order of decreasing frequency of occurrence (Table 4-11). This compartmentalization, however, does not necessarily reflect Cherokee perception; rather, such divisions are constructs of the researcher based upon the latter's intuition as well as that of early investigators regarding the meanings and associations being implied within the various words. Such an approach is deemed necessary in order to systematically order and summarize the kinds of semantic patterns present in the data.

Age

Age is expressed by the use of certain attributives with the name of the animal. The Cherokee language possesses two different terms to signify 'young animal.'

aɬda (sg.) 'young animal (born in litter or hatched, i.e., multiple birth)'
anida (pl.)

aɬda wesa	'kitten'
gihli-nida	'puppies'

Table 4-11
Frequency of Occurrence of Semantic Patterns
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Semantic Dimension	Number of Occurrences	Example	
		Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss
Onomatopoeia	47	**sigigi**	'katydid'
Shape	24	**usgwohli egwa**	'mud catfish' lit.'huge stomach'
Behavior	21	**gallegi**	'blacksnake' lit.'climber'
Size	13	**wadulisi utana**	'bumble bee' lit.'big bee'
Color	12	**juhla wodige**	'red fox' lit.'brown/ red fox'
Texture	7	**ahwi-unodena**	'sheep' lit.'woolly deer'
Habitat	7	**jisdeji inagehi**	'wood mouse/rat' lit.'mouse/ rat dwelling (or living) in the forest'
Focal Membership	2	**ajadiya**	'salmon' lit.'principal fish'
Smell	1	**svgi**	'mink' lit.'one that smells'
Analogy	1	**oligiyusdi**	'white sucker' lit.'like a redhorse'

agina (sg.) 'young animal (single birth)'
anigina (pl.)

sogwili agina	'colt'
ahwi agina	'fawn'
wahga agina	'calf'

A single term is used in reference to old animals of all kinds.

agayvli (sg.) 'old animal'
anigayvli (pl.)

Gender

Gender is generally denoted by the addition of an attributive to the name of the animal. Females are labelled by a single set of terms.

agisi (sg.) 'female animal'
anigisi (pl.)

awohalli agisi	'female eagle'
jitaga agisi	'hen'
gihli agisi	'female dog'
yona agisi	'female bear'
wesa agisi	'female cat'
sogwili agisi	'mare'
sihgwa agisi	'sow'
ahwi agisi	'doe'
wahga agisi	'cow'

One exception occurs with cow, an introduced domestic animal, whereby an additional form is sometimes used in order to distinguish a milch from a heifer.

wahga ganegi!ehi	'milch cow' lit. 'milking cattle'

Males are labelled by one of two terms.

achvya (sg.) 'male animal'
anichvya (pl.)

awoha!li achvya	'male eagle'
jitaga achvya	'rooster'
gihli achvya	'male dog'
yona achvya	'male bear'
wesa achvya	'male cat'
sihgwa achvya	'boar'

jukanvstahli 'male animal'

gihli jukanvstahli	'male dog'
wesa jukanvstahli	'male cat'
sogwili jukanvstahli	'stallion'
ahwi jukanvstahli	'buck'
ahwi-unodena jukanvstahli	'ram'
wahga jukanvstahli	'bull'

The differential application of the two terms is unclear. It seems that **achvya** is primarily used with names of male animals born in a litter or hatched, i.e., multiple birth, and **jukanvstahli** is used with names of male animals that are of a single birth (cf. 'young animal'). Two exceptions, however, occur, whereby both **achvya** and **jukanvstahli** may be used to modify **gihli** 'dog' and **wesa** 'cat.'

An interesting phenomenon is the existence of a distinctive word for several male animals: The term **galagina** is glossed as 'buck' (or 'male deer'), 'gobbler' (or 'male turkey'), and, at times, 'large horned beetle.'

Finally, castrated males may be denoted by a separate set of terms.

ganalli 'castrated male animal'

wahga ganalli 'ox'

julvhwisdanehi 'worker'

wahga julvhwisdanehi 'ox' lit. 'working cattle'

Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia provides the basis for the formation of 42, or 18.2 percent, of the Cherokee animal names. The majority are labels for birds, constituting 42.3 percent of all avian names. The remaining sound symbolic terms include those for four toads/frogs, four insects/worms, and one mammal (Table 4-12). Each of these names is a simple primary lexeme and represents a direct imitation of the characteristic sound(s) produced by a particular animal. Two names are almost identical--**dala** 'treefrog/tree toad' and **dalala** 'red-headed (red-bellied) woodpecker'; the similarity of their calls is also noted by western zoologists (Conant 1975:324). In several cases, the vocalization rendered resembles a word already established

Table 4-12
Onomatopoetic (Direct)
Cherokee Animal Names

Major Western Grouping	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss
Inverte-brates--insects/worms	**sigigi**	'katydid'
	gahlgwogi	'mole cricket'
	lolo	'cicada/jar-fly'
	vle (?)	'locust'
Herpeto-fauna--toads/frogs	**dusdu**	'spring frog'
	dala	'treefrog/tree toad'
	kanuna	'bullfrog'
	gwalga	'type of frog'
Birds	**tsgwoyi** (?)	'white crane/egret'
	sasa	'goose'
	dagalga	'blue goose'
	kawonu	'duck'
	suli	'buzzard'
	gigi	'sparrow hawk'
	giyagiya	'type of hawk'
	guhgwe	'quail/partridge/bobwhite'
	guwisguwi	'large snipe'
	daluga	'yellow-billed cuckoo/rain crow'
	wahuhi	'screech owl'
	uguku	'hooting owl'
	waguli	'whip-poor-will'
	jatla	'kingfisher'
Birds (cont)	**dalala**	'red-headed woodpecker'
	julilena	'yellow-bellied sapsucker'
	gvgwoga	'pileated woodpecker/wood hen'
	jaja	'type of woodpecker'
	henilu	'wood pewee'
	gulisguli	'great crested flycatcher'
	dludlu	'purple martin'
	dlayhga	'blue jay'
	koga	'crow'
	kolana	'raven'
	jigilili	'chickadee/tomtit'
	jiji	'winter wren'
	jagwolide	'bluebird'
	kawoga	'wood thrush'
	jisgwogwo	'robin'
	huhu	'yellow-breasted chat/yellow mockingbird'
	tojuhwa	'redbird'
	jawisga	'towhee'
	tuti	'snowbird'
Mammals	**wahya**	'wolf'

Total Number of Onomatopoetic (Direct) Cherokee Animal Names 42

in the Cherokee language: **Gahlgwogi** 'mole cricket' also means 'seven,' and **julilena** 'yellow-bellied sapsucker' also signifies 'deaf.' Finally, the term **suli** 'buzzard' may have been borrowed from the Muskogean language family (Pickens 1943:215; Witthoft 1946a:179, 1946b:377) and is based upon the swishing sound made by the wings as the bird rises (Pickens 1943:215) and/or while it is in flight (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:296).

Several additional names (not included in Table 4-12) may be considered indirectly onomatopoetic. These are simple or complex words descriptive either of an animal's distinctive vocalization(s) or of the manner in which the sound is produced.

dalsguwa 'snapping beetle' lit. 'head nodder' --referring to the clicking sound produced by certain body movements.

agina ahyelisgi 'fawn imitator'--a mythical snake that imitates the bleat of a fawn so as to capture and prey upon its mother.

gule disgohnihi 'mourning dove/turtle dove' lit. 'one that mourns (or cries) for acorns'-- the bird's cry somewhat resembling the Cherokee word **gule** 'acorn.'

walela 'hummingbird'--a term derived from the verb 'roll,' perhaps referring to the bird's rolling sound.

wadahyeli 'brown thrasher' lit. 'imitator'--a bird noted for being an excellent songster and mimic.

All onomatopoetic names, both direct and indirect, have been checked with a number of recordings of animal vocalizations (Alexander and Borror n.d.; Borror 1970; Gaul

1960; Gulledge 1982; Kellogg and Allen 1971). This procedure was conducted for further clarification of their onomatopoetic nature and, in a few instances, for purposes of correspondence with western scientific taxon or taxa.

Shape

References to shape occur in 24 animal names (Table 4-13), which, in turn, are representative of each of the noun categories previously described for the Cherokee language. Such names either describe a particular body part (e.g., **usgwohli egwa** 'mud catfish,' **juwoduhi jugidahli** 'golden eagle,' and **digatohnvhida** 'marsh/chicken hawk') or express a metaphorical reference to another animal (e.g., **kawonu kayvsoli** 'pike' and **ahwi** 'deer'), plant (e.g., **dugalvlna** 'type of small fish' and **selagwoya** 'greensnake'), or inanimate object (e.g., **kanalnesgi** 'spider,' **dilsdoyhdi** 'water spider,' and **nokwsi** 'meadowlark'), which bears a close resemblance in shape.

Behavior

A number of names (21) focus upon some aspect of the animal's behavior, such as patterns of locomotion (e.g., **gallegi** 'blacksnake' and **ganvsdawa** 'sandpiper'), feeding habits (e.g., **tsgoyalaktosdi** 'least flycatcher' and **digatisgi** 'rabbit hawk'), or certain idiosyncratic habits (e.g., **digsi digasagwalehlidohi** 'tumblebug,' **jugi-juyhvsdi** 'hornyhead fish,' **kwandayoha** 'spreading adder,' and **sihgwa**

Table 4-13
Cherokee Animal Names Referring to Shape

Noun Category	Example		
	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Literal or Other Meaning(s)
Uninflected Noun (UN)	**ganvnowa**	'type of dragonfly'	'pipe'
	gugu	'tick'	'bottle' 'vial'
	jisdvna	'crayfish'	'large horned beetle'
	selagwoya	'greensnake'	'bear-grass'
	duleji	'turkey'	'kernels'
	nokwsi	'meadowlark'	'star'
	ahwi	'deer'	'large horned beetle'
	galagina	'buck'	'gobbler' 'large horned beetle'
Inflected Noun (IN)	**dugalvlna**	'type of small fish'	'gourd'
	jagosda	'snipe'	'sharp'
	anigosdayi	'chimney swift'	'sharp' (pl.)

Derived Noun (DN)	**kanaɬnesgi**	'spider'	'clock' 'watch'
	dilsdoyhdi	'water spider'	'scissors'
	jisgwalvna	'mallethead/ mumblehead fish'	'I am hitting him/her on the head (with a rigid object)'
Composite Term (CT)	**daliyodaga**	'gruhworm'	'segmented June-bug'
	kawonu kayvsoli	'pike'	'duck's hill'
	usgwohli egwa	'mud catfish'	'huge stomach'
	juwoduhi jugidahli	'golden eagle'	'pretty feathers'
	digatohnvhida	'marsh/chicken hawk'	'long tails'
	galvsahyoha	'woodcock'	'searching nose'
	nvhgi-dikanasaɬdv	'quadruped'	'four-toed'
	galos-ganvhida	'mythical bear'	'long ham'
	sogwili digaɬlenvhida	'donkey/mule'	'long-eared horse'
	ahwi-ahanulvhi	'goat'	'bearded deer'

ujetsdi or **sihgwa uyetsga** 'opossum'). Such names are usually either derived nouns or composite terms. One uninflected noun, however, is included: The term **daksi** 'terrapin' also means 'padlock,' possibly referring to this turtle's behavior of closing its shell securely (King and King 1976:60) (Table 4-14).

Size

The notion of relative size constitutes a number of composite terms and usually is denoted by the use of the following three attributives.

usdi 'little'

sanuwa usdi	'pigeon hawk' lit. 'little mythical hawk'
jisdeji usdi	'house mouse' lit. 'little mouse/rat'

The word **usdi** also means 'baby' (Feeling 1975:178,192).

utana 'big'

dosa utana	'mosquito' lit. 'big gnat'
wadulisi utana	'bumble bee' lit. 'big bee'
dagvna utana	'oyster' lit. 'big mussel'
jisdeji utana	'house rat' lit. 'big mouse/rat'
kamama utana	'elephant' lit. 'big butterfly'

Table 4-14
Cherokee Animal Names Referring to Behavior

Noun Category	Example		
	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Literal or Other Meaning(s)
Uninflected Noun (UN)	**daksi**	'terrapin'	'padlock'
Derived Noun (DN)	**didasdoyesgi**	'cricket'	'barber'
	advtawa	'type of moth'	'he/she is placing (or putting) himself/herself (solid) in fire'
	anigahndisgi	'rainmaker lizard'	'rainmaker'
	daliksda	'spreading adder'	'he/she just vomited'
	gallegi	'blacksnake'	'climber'
	ujonati	'rattlesnake'	'rattler'
	aninohilidohi	'flying birds/insects'	'flyers'
	digatisgi	'rabbit hawk'	'stabber'
	tvdasdi	'pheasant/ruffed grouse'	'listener'
	digagwani	'mud-hen/didapper'	'kneeler' 'lame' 'crippled'
	sogwili	'horse'	'burden bearer'

Composite Term (CT)	**digsi digasagwalehlidohi**	'tumhlebug'	'feces roller'
	tuya-diskahlawidisgi	'June-bug'	'flyer with head by the beans'
	dosvda!li adajvysgi	'cow-ant'	'stinging ant'
	jugi-juyhvsdi	'hornyhead fish'	'he/she just picked up and carried it (solid)'
	kwandayoha	'spreading adder'	'he/she just shot the peaches'
	ganvsdawa	'sandpiper'	'swimming leg'
	tsgoya!aktosdi	'least flycatcher'	'insect looker'
	sihgwa ujetsdi	'opossum'	'grinning pig/hog'
	sihgwa uyetsga	'opossum'	'smiling (or laughing) pig/hog'

egwa 'huge'

tawodlegwa	'red-tailed hawk' lit. 'huge hawk'
tinegwa	'mole' lit. 'huge louse'
ahwi egwa	'elk' lit. 'huge deer'
agisegwa	'mythical Great Female/ animal god' lit. 'huge female animal'

One animal name seems to imply a relative size contrast.

unuji 'younger brother'

jisgwenuji	'downy/hairy woodpecker' lit. 'bird's younger brother'--the downy being the smallest woodpecker present in the Cherokee country.

A final term may be implying a size differential as well as a protective relationship in addition to an environmental association.

unisi 'paternal grandchild or grandparent'

doyunisi	'water beetle/mellow bug' lit. 'beaver's grandchild'

Color

Four basic colors figure as constituents of a number of composite animal terms.

unega 'white'

unega gajedali	'white crane/egret'
unegada	'yellowhammer' lit. 'white soil' --referring to the bird's white rump.

dalonige!i 'yellow'

jisdeji daloni	'weasel' lit. 'yellow mouse/rat'

sakonige!i 'blue' 'gray'

juhla sakonige!iyusdi	'gray fox' lit. 'like blue (bluish) fox'

The Cherokee language does not distinguish between the colors 'blue' and 'gray,' which are perceived as being shades of the same color (King 1975:148). Nevertheless, they may be differentiated by adding the characterizer attributive suffix **-iyusdi** 'like,' i.e., **sakonige!iyusdi** 'like blue (bluish)' (Mooney 1885:96), to signify 'gray.'

wodige!i 'brown' 'red'

wodige askoli	'copperhead snake' lit. 'brown/red head'
saloli wodi	'fox squirrel' lit. 'brown/red squirrel'
juhla wodige	'red fox' lit. 'brown/red fox'

The term **wodige!i** is glossed as 'brown' or 'red' when used to modify names for animate objects with the exception of birds. Birds as well as inanimate objects are

distinguished in regard to these two colors with **wodigeli** denoting 'brown' and **gigageli** meaning 'red' (Mooney 1885:96). No bird names have been collected from early sources to demonstrate the use of the term **gigageli**. It is interesting to note, however, that, in modern Cherokee dictionaries and grammars, the distinction between the two colors has expanded and now applies to all things, animate and inanimate, e.g., **juhla gigage** 'red fox' (King 1975:215,245).

Several names refer indirectly to the color of the animal.

sgolvge 'fading'

inada sgolvge	'bullsnake' lit. 'fading (pale or light-colored) snake'

giga 'blood'

giga-danegisgi	'scorpion lizard' lit. 'blood taker'
giga-juholi	'bloody-mouth lizard' lit. 'bloody mouth'

These last two animal names may refer to the notable bright red heads of the lizards.

Finally, two names are included as they connote the quality of brightness.

juktajisdahli 'copperhead snake' lit. 'ignited eyes'

uktena 'mythical horned snake' lit. 'far-eyed' 'keen-eyed'--referring to the blazing diamond-like crest on its forehead.

Texture

Textural qualities are used in the formation of three composite terms.

uyasgvhdi 'with shell'

tsgoya uyasgvhdi 'beetle' lit. 'insect with shell'

nvya 'rock'

nvyuhnuwi 'cow-ant' lit. 'clothed in stone'--referring to its hard body case.

unodena 'woolly'

ahwi-unodena 'sheep' lit. 'woolly deer'

Four additional names seem to carry textural connotations according to their multiple meanings.

juganoji 'centipede' 'leather'

dagvna 'mussel' 'pimple'

walosi 'toad' 'warts'

julasgi 'alligator' 'iron pot'--perhaps referring to the toughness of this reptile's skin (King 1975:151; King and King 1976:60).

Habitat

Environmental associations are indicated in seven descriptive names.

ama 'water'

amakta 'minnow' lit. 'he/she just peeked through the water'--possibly referring to this fish's habit of swimming near the surface of the water.

usdanali 'shoals'

julisdanali 'blue catfish'--associating the fish with its natural occurrence over shoals.

odalv!i 'mountain'

odalaktiyi 'garter/garden snake' lit. 'mountain guard'

amayehi 'water dweller'

kana!nesgi amayehi 'water spider' lit. 'spider dwelling (or living) in the water'

dlogesehi 'field dweller'

jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/rat' lit. 'mouse/rat dwelling (or living) in the field'

inagehi 'forest dweller'

jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat' lit. 'mouse/rat dwelling (or living) in the forest'

nvnohi 'road'

nvnogalihwogi 'shrew' lit. 'die in the road'

Focal membership

The intensive attributive suffix **-ya** 'principal' 'real' occurs in several Cherokee animal names, i.e., productive primary lexemes. Such words tend to designate those classes that are the most abundant, exhibit the widest geographical distribution, and/or are the best known in comparison to all other member classes in their respective superordinate classes.

ajaldi 'fish'

ajadiya 'salmon'
lit. 'principal fish'

jisgwa 'bird'

jisgwaya 'sparrow'
lit. 'principal bird'

Analogous semantic forms have been demonstrated in other folk biological systems (see Berlin et al. 1974:42-43).

Smell

One name refers to the animal's characteristic odor.

svgi 'mink' lit. 'one that smells'

Analogy

The characterizer attributive suffix **-iyusdi** 'like' is attached to a name to indicate that its referent is seen to be conceptually related to an already existing and named class (see Berlin 1972:55-58; Bright and Bright 1965:253; Stahel 1944; Werner 1954:204). This analogical process,

referred to as "concrete transposition" (Berlin 1972:55-58; Werner 1954:204), is a kind of descriptive derivation and is common among Cherokee plant names (King 1975:94; King and King 1976:60). Only one example, however, is present in the animal names.

oliga 'redhorse fish'

oligiyusdi 'white sucker'
lit. 'like a redhorse'

Lexeme Types

The distribution of the animal names according to lexeme type is summarized in Tables 4-15 and 4-16. The correspondence of lexeme types with the noun categories previously described is given in Table 4-17.

Both primary and secondary lexemes are represented in the nomenclature. Among the former are included 216 animal names (93.5%) (Table 4-18), which, in turn, are divided into three subtypes: simple, unproductive, and productive. Simple primary lexemes are most common (67.5%) (Table 4-16), consisting predominantly of uninflected nouns (81.4%) and less frequently of derived (12.2%) or inflected (6.4%) nouns (Table 4-17). Unproductive primary lexemes (13.0%) (Table 4-16) are, with one exception (i.e., a derived noun), composite terms (Table 4-17). Their meanings are further analyzed in Table 4-19. Productive primary lexemes (4.8%) (Table 4-16) are of least occurrence and may be derived nouns or composite terms (Table 4-17). Secondary

Table 4-15
Distribution of Cherokee Animal Names
(by Major Western Grouping)
Among Lexeme Types

Major Western Grouping	Lexeme Type: Simple Primary Lexeme (SPL)	Unproductive Primary Lexeme (UPL)	Productive Primary Lexeme (PPL)	Undetermined Type of Primary Lexeme (PL)	Secondary Lexeme (SL)	Total Cherokee Animal Names
Invertebrates	37 (75.5%)	4 (8.2%)	1 (2.0%)	1 (2.0%)	6 (12.2%)	49 (21.2%)
Fish	13 (65.0%)	5 (25.0%)	1 (5.0%)	1 (5.0%)	0 (0%)	20 (8.7%)
Herpetofauna	22 (59.5%)	8 (21.6%)	1 (2.7%)	6 (16.2%)	0 (0%)	37 (16.0%)
Birds	56 (71.8%)	7 (9.0%)	3 (3.8%)	10 (12.8%)	2 (2.6%)	78 (33.8%)
Mammals	28 (59.6%)	6 (12.8%)	5 (10.6%)	1 (2.1%)	7 (14.9%)	47 (20.3%)
Total	156 (67.5%)	30 (13.0%)	11 (4.8%)	19 (8.2%)	15 (6.5%)	231 (100.0%)

Table 4-16
Summary of Distribution of Cherokee Animal Names
Among Lexeme Types

Lexeme Type	Number of Cherokee Animal Names	Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Animal Names
Simple Primary Lexeme (SPL)	156	67.5%
Unproductive Primary Lexeme (UPL)	30	13.0%
Productive Primary Lexeme (PPL)	11	4.8%
Undetermined Type of Primary Lexeme (PL)	19	8.2%
Secondary Lexeme (SL)	15	6.5%
Total	231	100.0%

Table 4-17
Distribution of Cherokee Animal Names
(by Noun Category)
Among Lexeme Types

Noun Category	Lexeme Type: Simple Primary Lexeme (SPL)	Unproductive Primary Lexeme (UPL)	Productive Primary Lexeme (PPL)	Undetermined Type of Primary Lexeme (PL)	Secondary Lexeme (SL)	Total Cherokee Animal Names
Uninflected Noun (UN)	127 (81.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	127 (55.0%)
Inflected Noun (IN)	10 (6.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (4.3%)
Derived Noun (DN)	19 (12.2%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (18.2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	22 (9.5%)
Composite Term (CT)	0 (0%)	29 (96.7%)	9 (81.8%)	0 (0%)	15 (100.0%)	53 (22.9%)
Undetermined Type of Noun (UDN)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	19 (100.0%)	0 (0%)	19 (8.2%)
Total	156 (67.5%)	30 (13.0%)	11 (4.8%)	19 (8.2%)	15 (6.5%)	231 (100.0%)

Table 4-18
Cherokee Animal Names--
Primary versus Secondary Lexemes

Lexeme Type	Number of Cherokee Animal Names	Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Animal Names
Primary	216	93.5%
Secondary	15	6.5%
Total	231	100.0%

Table 4-19
Major Types of Unproductive Primary Lexemes
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Type of Unproductive Primary Lexeme	Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Literal Meaning and Comments
Descriptive of Appearance	**nvyuhnuwi**	'cow-ant'	'clothed in stone'
	usgwohli egwa	'mud catfish'	'huge stomach'
	giga-danegisgi	'scorpion lizard'	'blood taker' referring to the lizard's bright red head
	giga-juholi	'bloody-mouth lizard'	'bloody mouth' referring to the lizard's bright red head
	wodige askoli	'copperhead snake'	'brown/red head'
	juktajisdahli	'copperhead snake'	'ignited eyes'
	uktena	'mythical horned snake'	'far-eyed' 'keen-eyed'
	juwoduhi jugidahli	'golden eagle'	'pretty feathers'
	digatohnvhida	'marsh/chicken hawk'	'long tails'
	galvsahyoha	'woodcock'	'searching nose'
	unegada	'yellowhammer'	'white soil' referring to the bird's white rump
	nvhgi-dikanasaldv	'quadruped'	'four-toed'
	galos-ganvhida	'mythical bear'	'long ham'
	agisegwa	'mythical Great Female/animal god'	'huge female animal'
Descriptive of Behavior	**digsi digasagwale-hlidohi**	'tumblebug'	'feces roller'
	tuya-diskahlawidisgi	'June-bug'	'flyer with head by the beans'
	jugi-juyhvsdi	'hornyhead fish'	'he/she just picked up and carried it (solid)'
	kwandayoha	'spreading adder'	'he/she just shot the peaches'
	ganvsdawa	'sandpiper'	'swimming leg'
	tsgoyalaktosdi	'least flycatcher'	'insect looker'
Reference to Vocalization Behavior	**agina ahyelisgi**	'fawn imitator'	mythical snake
	gule disgohnihi	'mourning dove/ turtle dove'	'one that mourns (or cries) for acorns'
Reference to Habitat	**amakta**	'minnow'	'he/she just peeked through the water'
	odalaktiyi	'garter/garden snake'	'mountain guard'
	nvnogalihwogi	'shrew'	'die in the road'
Resemblance and Perceived Relationship	**oligiyusdi**	'white sucker'	'like a redhorse' but not quite a redhorse fish
Resemblance Without Relationship	**kawonu kayvsoli**	'pike'	'duck's bill' but not a kind of duck
	tinegwa	'mole'	'huge louse' but not a kind of louse
	kamama utana	'elephant'	'big butterfly' but not a kind of butterfly
Reference to Size and/or Environmental Association	**doyunisi**	'water beetle/ mellow bug'	'beaver's grandchild'

lexemes, on the other hand, include 15 names (6.5%) (Table 4-18), which are all composite terms (Table 4-17). Examples of animal names exhibiting the various lexeme types are given in Tables 4-20 (primary) and 4-21 (secondary).

The foregoing analysis of the nomenclatural data serves as the basis for ascertaining Cherokee animal classifications. Such evidence is supplemented by inferences also drawn from other kinds of linguistic data, and from information pertaining to the significance of various recognized fauna in secular (Chapter 5) as well as in ideological and ritual (Chapter 6) contexts in the Cherokee culture as derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts. These various kinds of evidence, in turn, are synthesized in order to reconstruct the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee animal classifications (Chapter 7).

Table 4-20
Examples of the Three Types of Primary Lexemes
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Type of Primary Lexeme	Noun Category	Example	
		Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss
Simple Primary Lexeme (SPL)	Uninflected Noun (UN)	**dosa**	'gnat'
		daksi	'terrapin'
		yona	'bear'
	Inflected Noun (IN)	**ujiya**	'earthworm/ intestinal worm'
		julisdanali	'blue catfish'
		uguku	'hooting owl'
	Derived Noun (DN)	**galuysdi**	'bed bug' lit.'chopper'
		ga!legi	'blacksnake' lit.'climber'
		wadahyeli	'brown thrasher' lit.'imitator'
Unproductive Primary Lexeme (UPL)	Derived Noun (DN)	**oligiyusdi**	'white sucker' lit.'like a redhorse'

Type of Primary Lexeme	Noun Category	Example: Cherokee Animal Name	Example: English Gloss
Unproductive Primary Lexeme (UPL) (cont)	Composite Term (CT)	**nvyuhnuwi**	'cow-ant' lit.'clothed in stone'
		usgwohli egwa	'mud catfish' lit.'huge stomach'
		juwoduhi jugidahli	'golden eagle' lit.'pretty feathers'
Productive Primary Lexeme (PPL)	Derived Noun (DN)	**ajadiya**	'salmon' lit.'principal fish'
		jisgwaya	'sparrow' lit.'principal bird'
	Composite Term (CT)	**tsgoya uyasgvhdi**	'beetle' lit.'insect with shell'
		inada sgolvge	'bullsnake' lit.'fading (pale or light-colored) snake'
		jisgwenuji	'downy/hairy woodpecker' lit.'bird's younger brother'

Table 4-21
Examples of Secondary Lexemes
Among Cherokee Animal Names

Cherokee Animal Name	English Gloss	Literal Meaning
dosvdaʔli adajvysgi	'cow-ant'	'stinging ant'
kanaʔnesgi amayehi	'water spider'	'spider dwelling (or living) in the water'
saloli wodi	'fox squirrel'	'brown/red squirrel'
sihgwa ujetsdi	'opossum'	'grinning pig/hog'
ahwi egwa	'elk'	'huge deer'
ahwi-ahanulvhi	'goat'	'bearded deer'
ahwi-unodena	'sheep'	'woolly deer'

CHAPTER 5
ANIMALS IN CHEROKEE SUBSISTENCE AND OTHER SECULAR ACTIVITIES

> . . . the eatables were produced, consisting chiefly of wild meat; such as venison, bear, and buffalo; tho' I cannot much commend their [Cherokee] cookery, every thing being greatly overdone: . . .
>
> Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, 1761 (Williams 1927:61)

> Their [Cherokee] food is venison, beef, pork, butter . . . Their cookery consists of plain boiling and roasting, the former more generally in the village, the latter in the hunting excursions, and the meat is always well done.
>
> Major John Norton, 1809-1810 (Klinck and Talman 1970:134)

The Cherokee Indians of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a sedentary society whose subsistence activities entailed a combination of hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild foods with the cultivation of plants and raising of livestock. Animals thus played a significant role in their daily secular life, serving as a source of food and nonfood (clothing and tools) products. It should be noted, however, that, although both wild (native, or indigenous, North American) and domestic

(mostly introduced Old World) animals were utilized, the former were historically the more basic and the more important of the two.

Native North American Animals

Procurement Methods and Implements

Fishing

Fishing was carried out in the local freshwater rivers, lakes, and mountain streams and entailed the use of several alternative techniques and devices. This activity generally took place during the summer and quite often was a cooperative endeavor involving both male and female participation.

Weirs and traps were probably the most frequently employed gear (Mooney 1900a:265,331,427; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:35,89,153; Rostlund 1952:102; Williams 1927:69, 1930:432) as they were highly efficient, allowing for a large quantity of fish to be taken at one time (Stewart 1977:99). Weirs were built in shallow-water portions of rivers or near a fall of water and generally were constructed as two converging wall-like rock alignments that formed a V shape, with the apex, faced downstream, consisting of a narrow passage leading into a reservoir (Mooney 1900a:331; Williams 1927:69, 1930:432). The migrating fish were funnelled in this direction by means of drags made of branches (Mooney 1885:89) or

grapevines (Vitis spp.) (Williams 1930:432) twisted together and by scare tactics (Williams 1930:432) and, once confined within the smaller body of water, were collected with baskets (Williams 1927:69). These baskets were often constricted in the middle with the top half slanting upward and outward, thereby facilitating the entry of fish but preventing their escape (Mooney 1885:92). At times, long tapering wickerwork pots made of cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) and hickory (Carya spp.) splints were positioned at the apex into which the fish were guided and hence trapped (Williams 1930:432).

Two additional methods also served the purpose of capturing fish en masse: the use of nets and stupefaction. Small hand nets, approximately three feet (0.9 m) deep and fabricated of Indian hemp (Apocynum cannabinum Linnaeus), to which were fastened green cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) handles, were carried by male swimmers while the women stood ashore with baskets and caught the fish that escaped the nets (Williams 1930:434). Evidence for large nets, i.e., seine and gill nets, however, is apparently lacking among the historic Southeast Indian groups (Rostlund 1952:87,291).

"Poisoning," or drugging fish, i.e., stupefaction, was practiced in the dry late summer months when the water level of the nearby streams was low, thereby leaving a series of small pools holding high concentrations of aquatic species. Buckeye (Aesculus spp.) root or walnut

(Juglans spp.) bark was pounded in a mortar and subsequently thrown into a medium-sized pond or creek where the mixture was circulated in the water with poles. Once the "poison" took effect, the fish became inebriated and floated to the surface of the water with their bellies turned upward. These were then harvested in baskets and carried back to the settlements (Hawkins 1916:23; Mooney 1900a:422; Williams 1930:432). Another stupefaction method involved firing gun powder directly upon the water; the loud noise, in turn, would stun the fish (Williams 1930:432).

Other techniques employed were for the procurement of individuals of certain species. Simple spears comprised of long green canes (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) with sharp fire-hardened points were used while in canoes as well as along river and stream banks for striking and impaling large fish (Mooney 1900a:250,288; Swanton 1979:337-339; Williams 1927:69, 1930:433). Bows and arrows, and eventually guns, served as alternative dispatching devices (Williams 1930:432). Catching with bare hands, referred to as "grabbling," was sometimes resorted to for seizing catfish lying under rocky ledges overhanging deep-river areas (Williams 1930:433-434). Hook and line was mentioned in recorded oral traditions (Mooney 1891:374-375, 1900a:250,330; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:153), and one fishing formula was accompanied by instructions regarding the necessary procedures for putting bait upon the hook

(Mooney 1891:374-375). Moreover, the latter implement has been reported from many Southeast prehistoric archaeological sites (Rostlund 1952:296; Swanton 1979:339-340) and usually consisted of a single piece of bone having a straight shank and a heavy U-shaped curve (Rostlund 1952:120); a "trot" line, to which were attached a number of shorter lines at regular intervals, each with a baited hook, was stretched across a stream or lake (Rostlund 1952:116; Swanton 1979:340). Nevertheless, references to the use of such gear specifically among the Cherokee are, with one exception (Williams 1927:69), absent from early ethnographic/historical accounts, and thus its practice may have declined considerably following European contact (Rostlund 1952:123,124).

Information pertaining to molluscan and crustacean fishing methods is likewise practically nonexistent. According to one source, groundhog meat or buttermilk served as bait for luring crayfish (Ulmer and Beck 1951:54).

Hunting

Hunting of wild game was pursued in the wooded mountainous regions of the Cherokee country primarily during late autumn and winter (American State Papers 1832:206; Bartram 1853:31; Butrick n.d.a:53,88, n.d.b:186; Cheves 1894:328; Fries 1968:51, 1970:1983; Hawkins 1916:18,20,21,23; Klinck and Talman 1970:118,119,126,137; McDowell 1958:88, 1970:259,417; Mereness 1916:244,246; Payne n.d.:52; Richardson 1759; Speck and Broom 1951:80;

Williams 1927:56, 1928:151,153,258,457,475,487,488,489, 1930:238,261,441,447, 1931:128; Witthoft 1946b:373-374). This was carried out either as an individual activity or as a cooperative endeavor. In the latter situation, a small to fairly large number of people went as a group on an expedition, which spanned a time period of approximately one week (Mereness 1916:246; Williams 1928:153) to as long as several months (Hawkins 1916:23; Williams 1928:457) and often covered quite an extensive amount of territory. Although such parties were generally comprised exclusively of men (Bartram 1853:31; Butrick n.d.b; Hawkins 1916:20, 21,22; Kilpatrick 1966:193; Klinck and Talman 1970:126; Payne n.d.; Speck and Broom 1951:82; Williams 1928:457, 1930:261,436), some did include women (Hawkins 1916:23); others, on the other hand, consisted of a single family (Corkran 1962:9; Hawkins 1916:18; Klinck and Talman 1970:119,126; Williams 1928:457). In the latter, the male would leave the camp in pursuit of quarry and, upon slaying several animals, would return with the skins; the women and children, in turn, went to the kill site the following day and brought back the meat and any other useful parts, while the hunter continued his search (Klinck and Talman 1970:126). Hunting trips of shorter duration and usually within closer proximity to the village took place during the summer (Mereness 1916:111; Mooney 1891:372; Public Record Office 1725; Williams 1928:98, 1930:239,271,436; Witthoft 1946b:374) and generally involved fewer people.

Strategies and implements for the pursuit, capture, and dispatch of native game varied according to the particular animal involved. Large fauna, such as deer, bear, buffalo, elk, and, at times, turkey, was hunted by means of stalking or drives. The former method, which was frequently accompanied by the use of decoys, was practiced by lone hunters on solitary excursions for the purpose of chasing individual game (Williams 1930:432). Upon locating his quarry, the hunter wore a disguise consisting of the appropriate wooden decoy mask (see Chapter 6 for a detailed description of these masks) and animal skin, which he placed over his face and back, respectively, thereby enabling him to approach near enough to the animal in order to successfully shoot it (Speck and Broom 1951; Witthoft 1946b:378). Such a technique was particularly effective for pursuing deer during the rutting season, i.e., late September through November, at which time the bucks were in a more aggressive state and thus less easily frightened (Hamilton and Whitaker 1979:320; Lowery 1974:497; Schwartz and Schwartz 1959:327). In addition, musical instruments sometimes served as luring devices. The deer call was comprised of a split laurel (Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus) twig with a piece of laurel or rhododendron (Rhododendron spp.) leaf lengthwise in the cleft as a vibrator so as to produce a buzzing sound (deer bleat) (Speck and Broom 1951:91-92). The turkey decoy, imitative of the bird's gobble, was usually a small tube made from its wing or leg

bone (Speck and Broom 1951:92; Witthoft 1946b:378) or, at times, was a slip of cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) or bone inserted in a corncoh and pulled across a piece of shale (Witthoft 1946b:378).

The drive, or surround, generally by fire, was, on the other hand, a communal hunting technique. It was also conducted in the fall/winter season when the leaves had dropped from the trees and were sufficiently dry to facilitate burning. Moreover, at this time, many animals, especially deer, concentrated in the forests to take advantage of the abundance of fallen mast, such as acorns (Quercus spp.) and chestnuts (Castanea spp.) (Williams 1930:447). The hunters set fire to a circular portion of a wooded habitat, usually encompassing a five-mile (8.0 km) circumference; the fire, burning inwards, increasingly contracted the animals' range and eventually forced them into a small confined area, i.e., bottleneck, where they could be easily killed (Corkran 1962:9; Fries 1968:49; Lawson 1967:215-216; Schwarze 1923:174; Swanton 1979: 317-321).

Another tactic for chasing large fauna, practiced by both individual as well as group hunters, involved the use of dogs (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:400; Mooney 1900a:308,314,329,465; Williams 1930:331). Dogs were, at times, taken along and provided great assistance in tracking and locating prey such as bears, which were frequently found in caves or hollow trees where they

hibernated in the winter months (Mooney 1900a:329; Swanton 1979:321-324; Williams 1930:330-331).

The principal weapon of dispatch traditionally was the bow and arrow (Butrick n.d.a:36, n.d.b:235; Davis 1910:36, 47,48-49; De Vorsey 1971:108; Kilpatrick 1966:189,193; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389; King 1976; Klinck and Talman 1970:126; Lanman 1849:442; McDowell 1958:45; Mooney 1885:89, 1888, 1891:372-373, 1900a; Payne n.d.:35; Schwarze 1923:115; Speck and Broom 1951:29; Thwaites 1904:274; Williams 1927:85-86, 1930:456-457), which was usually used in conjunction with the aforementioned strategies. The bow, approximately three to five feet (0.9-1.5 m) in length (King 1976:92; Mooney 1885:89), was made out of black locust (Robinia pseudo-acacia Linnaeus) or honey locust (Gleditsia triacanthos Linnaeus) (King 1976:92; Mooney 1885:89, 1900a:250; Thwaites 1904:274) or another kind of preferred wood and then was dipped in bear oil (King 1976:93; Williams 1927:85) and heat treated (Williams 1927:85-86); the string usually was a strip of twisted bear gut (entrails) (Butrick n.d.b:235; Davis 1910:48; King 1976:93,96,97; Mooney 1885:89, 1900a:250; Williams 1927:86) or, at times, Indian hemp (Apocynum cannabinum Linnaeus) (King 1976:93; Mooney 1885:89). The arrow consisted of a shaft of reed (Davis 1910:49; Mooney 1885:89, 1888:99-100, 1891:373, 1900a:243; Williams 1927:85)--beard grass (Erianthus spp.) (Mooney 1891:373) or cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) (King 1976:93)--or of hickory

(Carya spp.) (Mooney 1885:89), approximately 28 to 34 inches (71.1-86.4 cm) in length (King 1976:93), and was barbed (Williams 1930:456-457). It was tipped with a piece of brass, copper, iron, sharp flint stone, bone, deer antler, turkey cockspur, bird bill, or fish scale (Butrick n.d.b:47; Davis 1910:36; King 1976:92; McDowell 1958:45; Mooney 1885:89; Williams 1927:85, 1930:457), which was modified into a triangular point (Williams 1927:85); this was bound to the stem with deer sinew (Williams 1927:85). In addition, several feathers were sometimes fastened to the shaft (Butrick n.d.b:47; King 1976:93; Mooney 1885:89, 1888:99-100, 1900a:242-243; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:66), also with deer sinew (King 1976:93) or with glue (Butrick n.d.b:47,306) derived from boiling down deer horn (antler) (Butrick n.d.b:240,306). By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the bow and arrow was being replaced by the gun, a European trade item, which, in turn, became the major hunting implement (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:83,86,214, 218,219; Butrick n.d.a:53,88, n.d.b:103; Corkran 1962:14; De Vorsey 1971:107,108; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:400; King 1976:92; Klinck and Talman 1970:126; McDowell 1955:89; Mooney 1885:89, 1900a:32,282; Payne n.d.:118; Rothrock 1929:5; Schwarze 1923:177; Speck and Broom 1951:29,69; Thwaites 1904:263-264,274; Williams 1927:86, 1928:29,33,489, 1930:457) with the increasing importance of the deer skin trade.

Different types of methods and apparatus were involved in pursuing and killing medium- and smaller-sized animals, either singly or en masse. Traps, such as snares, cage-falls, and board-falls, were employed for catching a variety of birds, though several other kinds were devised, at times, specifically for taking turkeys or eagles (Witthoft 1946b:373-374,376,378). Additional ones for capturing mammals, particularly beaver, were imported from the colonies (McDowell 1970:576).

Several mass capture techniques were sometimes practiced. Torches were used to drive birds out of brush heaps on summer evenings (Witthoft 1946b:374) and, on winter nights, to overtake passenger pigeons that were found gathering in large numbers at their roosting place (Lawson 1967:50-51; Schorger 1973:133; Williams 1927:103). In these two strategies, the prey were beaten by means of sticks and long poles, respectively. Clubs were used for killing raccoon (Speck and Broom 1951:79) and occasionally beaver (Speck and Broom 1951:69).

The main dispatching device for small game, however, was the blowgun, or blowpipe (Davis 1910:47; Mooney 1885:91, 1891:371-372, 1900a:250,334-335,401; Schwarze 1923:115; Speck 1938; Williams 1927:71-72, 1928:472; Witthoft 1946b:374), which was used in procuring a variety of birds --goose, duck, quail, pheasant, and, at times, turkey (Williams 1927:71)--and even mammals (squirrel and rabbit) (Schwarze 1923:115; Williams 1927:71; Witthoft 1946b:374)

and frogs and toads (Witthoft 1946b:374). It was frequently employed by young children (Schwarze 1923:115; Williams 1927:71-72), who were quite skilled at hitting their prey in the eye (Williams 1927:72; Witthoft 1946b:374). Moreover, this weapon could be used effectively within a range of 40 to 60 feet (12.2-18.3 m) (Speck 1938:201; Witthoft 1946b:374). The blowgun was made of a hollowed piece of cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) (Mooney 1885:91; Schwarze 1923:115; Speck 1938:203; Williams 1927:71-72, 1928:472; Witthoft 1946b:374), approximately 8 to 10 feet (2.4-3.0 m) in length (Mooney 1885:91; Schwarze 1923:115; Speck 1938:202; Witthoft 1946b:374), through which darts were propelled. These darts were 9- to 22-inch (22.9-55.9 cm) slivers of hickory (Carya spp.), bush clover (Lespedeza capitata Andre Michaux), honey locust (Gleditsia triacanthos Linnaeus), black locust (Robinia pseudo-acacia Linnaeus), red mulberry (Morus rubra Linnaeus), or white oak (Quercus alba Linnaeus) and were round in cross section, with the piston, or plunger, wrapped in thistledown (Carduus spp.) and the other end sharply pointed (Mooney 1885:91; Speck 1938:200; Witthoft 1946b:374).

Very small animals were taken by means of gathering. This was generally carried out by children, who would collect by hand "edible" insects (Witthoft 1946b:374), such

as yellow-jackets (Ulmer and Beck 1951:56) and locusts (cicadas) (Ulmer and Beck 1951:56-57), as well as bird eggs, nestling birds, and sometimes frogs in the nearby woods and fields (Witthoft 1946b:374).

Food and Nonfood Products

A large number of products used in Cherokee daily life were derived from various native North American animal sources. Among invertebrates, i.e., insects/worms/spiders, the larvae of the locust (cicada) **vle** and yellow-jacket **jasgayli** were roasted or fried for consumption and were considered a great delicacy (Grant 1975:246; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255; Ulmer and Beck 1951:56-57). Moreover, the yellow-jacket was, at times, subsequently boiled in water and prepared as a soup (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:443; Ulmer and Beck 1951:56).

The meat of "fish" invertebrates, such as crayfish **jisdvna**, was occasionally eaten (Grant 1975:246; Ulmer and Beck 1951:54); the shell of the freshwater mussel **dagvna**, because of its fairly sharp cutting edge, was employed as a knife (Kilpatrick 1966:187; Mooney 1900a:320-321; Swanton 1979:253). Furthermore, the shell of certain marine molluscs served as raw material for the manufacture of wampum beads, which the Cherokee obtained through trade with coastal Southeast Indian groups (Mooney 1900a:488). These were sometimes worn as articles of adornment, in the form of necklaces, collars (Mooney 1900a:488; Williams 1927:76),

and hair (Williams 1927:75) or headband (Harper 1958:318,661) decoration, to accompany everyday attire and/or were used as a medium of exchange (McDowell 1970:568; Mooney 1900a:488; Williams 1930:178-179).

Fish **ajaldi** were a fairly common dietary item (Chiltoskey 1975:242; Grant 1975:246; Lanman 1849:405; Ulmer and Beck 1951), providing a supplemental source of meat and protein (Rostlund 1952:304). Although the actual kinds consumed were rarely mentioned (with the exception of trout **unoga** [Lanman 1849:405], mountain, or speckled, trout **adaja** [Ulmer and Beck 1951:65], and minnow **amakta** [Grant 1975:246]), such information may be inferred from the food taboos imposed upon certain individuals in particular situations. Thus, hornyhead fish **ugvsdelli**, or **jugi-juyhvsdi**, hog sucker **daloge**, sun perch **agola**, and drumfish/buffalo fish **gasadi** were also eaten at times (see Chapter 6). Bones and scales were sometimes modified into arrow points (McDowell 1958:45; Williams 1927:85); the former anatomical part was also employed as sewing needles (Williams 1930:8).

Herpetofauna played a relatively minor role in everyday secular activities. The meat of "frogs" was eaten (Malone 1956a:24; Schwarze 1923:55; Walker 1931:27), particularly toad **walosi**, spring frog **dusdu** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:51), and a certain type of frog **gwalga**, as well as that of the water dog **juwa** and spring lizard **duweka**, when not forbidden for some specific reason (see Chapter 6). Turtles and

other reptiles were also probably consumed, though such information is absent in the early accounts.

Birds **jisgwa** were fairly important in certain secular aspects of Cherokee life, their food products, i.e., meat and eggs, being the major commodity (Bartram 1853:47; Mereness 1916:102; Public Record Office 1725; Thwaites 1904:261; Ulmer and Beck 1951; Witthoft 1946b:373-374). Feathers were fitted to arrows (King 1976:93; Mooney 1885:89, 1888:99-100, 1900a:242-243; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:66) and were worn as mantles in the summer (Harper 1958:319,504; Williams 1927:77) or as ornamentation, such as clothing embellishments (Butrick n.d.b:60,237; Kilpatrick 1966:190) and hair decoration (Louis-Philippe 1977:95; Williams 1927:75, 1930:9). Bird bills were sometimes employed as arrow points (McDowell 1958:45).

The turkey **gvna** was the largest and most utilized of the indigenous fowl. This bird may have been tamed prior to European contact or else its domestication developed after the introduction of the chicken (Malone 1956a:22; Willis 1955:119-120; Witthoft 1946b:377). Its meat was highly valued and formed the greatest porportion of the avian contribution to the diet (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241; Klinck and Talman 1970:143; Louis-Philippe 1977:67; Ulmer and Beck 1951:65; Williams 1928:436). Its long feathers were sewn between strips of red mulberry (Morus rubra Linnaeus) bark (Butrick n.d.a:91, n.d.b:60-61,174,236; Williams 1930:454-455) for making

articles of clothing (Butrick n.d.b:174), such as mantles (Witthoft 1946b:378), blankets (Butrick n.d.a:91, n.d.b:60-61,236; Williams 1930:454-455), and women's short gowns (Butrick n.d.a:91, n.d.b:236); its feathers also were used as hair decoration (Louis-Philippe 1977:95) and were fastened to the base of arrows (Mooney 1885:89). Wings sometimes functioned as fans for removing smoke in hothouses (Kilpatrick 1966:191). Turkey bone beads were strung on a long thread and worn as necklaces by women (Butrick n.d.b:19,60,235); cockspurs were sometimes fastened to men's boots (Williams 1930:8) or were used for arrow points (Williams 1930:457). The wing or leg bones were used for constructing turkey hunting decoy calls (Speck and Broom 1951:92; Witthoft 1946b:378). Moreover, the entire bird was sometimes sold at the market (Louis-Philippe 1977:83).

Other birds frequently eaten included quail **guhgwe** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:57-58) and pheasant **tvdasdi** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:55) and, at times, crane, or heron, **gajedali**, or **kanasgowa** (Witthoft 1946b:375). Several were mentioned in regard to daily apparel. The skin of a small hawk **tawodi**, wing of a redbird **tojuhwa** (Williams 1930:9), or red-dyed down of a goose **sasa** (Louis-Philippe 1977:95) was sometimes fastened to the hair. The feathers of the heron, and/or egret **unega gajedali** were used by men as headband or ear decoration (Harper 1958:318,525).

Mammals **nvhgi-dikanasaldv** surpassed all other faunal groups in terms of procurement and utilization. They

served as a wealthy source of raw goods, including meat, skins and/or furs, bones, and fat.

Deer **ahwi** was by far the major mammal hunted and was, moreover, the single most important game animal in the Cherokee economy (Mooney 1900a:263). Virtually all parts of the deer served some purpose, contributing to the production of a variety of both food and nonfood commodities. Its flesh, i.e., venison, was the basic meat staple of the diet (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,169,241; Cheves 1894:328; Fyffe 1761:5; Harper 1958:221,222,657; Klinck and Talman 1970; McDowell 1970:269; Menzies 1761; Mereness 1916:102; Mooney 1900a; Payne n.d.:35; Public Record Office 1725; Richardson 1759; Thwaites 1904:261; Ulmer and Beck 1951:65; Williams 1927:43,55-56,61, 1930:408,438, 1931:131), providing well over 50 percent of the total animal food consumed.

Deer skins were the most widely used nonfood animal product, constituting the principal raw material in the common native dress of both men and women (Butrick n.d.b:19,60,173,236; Evans n.d.:6; Foreman 1956:150; Harper 1958:319,492-493; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Mooney 1900a:312,330,361; Thwaites 1904:264; Williams 1930:7,8,9). The hides also served as "bottles," or containers, for storing bear oil and honey (Butrick n.d.b:21,241) and as bedclothes (Williams 1930:452). Moreover, the skins monopolized the Cherokee/white trade as the major commodity exported in exchange for European goods (Fries 1970:1979;

McDowell 1955, 1958, 1970; Thwaites 1904:264; Williams 1928:253, 1930:179). Sinew functioned as string for binding (Williams 1930:179), such as tying points (Williams 1927:85) and feathers (King 1976:93) to arrows, and as thread for sewing (Williams 1930:8,144,180); pieces of deer bone or horn (antler) were modified into needles (Williams 1930:8). The horn also was fastened to men's hair (Butrick n.d.b:18, 59,234), used as arrow points (Williams 1930:457), or pounded and boiled to make glue (Butrick n.d.b:240,306). The hoofs sometimes served as ornamental articles attached to men's boots (Williams 1930:8). Other parts employed included the tallow, or fat, which was used to form white paint by mixing with white clay that had been dried and pounded (Butrick n.d.b:240), and stained deer's hair, which was used as hair decoration (Williams 1927:75).

The bear **yona** was the next most economically valuable animal and was hunted mainly for its fat rather than for its flesh, though the latter constituted a substantial portion of the meat in the overall diet (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87; Grant 1975:246; Lanman 1849:405; Mereness 1916:245; Mooney 1900a:361; Ulmer and Beck 1951:60,65; Williams 1927:61, 1928:153, 1930:139,408,446). Oil was extracted from its fat (Williams 1930:446) and was preserved in large earthen (clay) jars set in the ground (Williams 1930:446) or in containers made of deer skin (Butrick n.d.b:21,241). As a food (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:170; Louis-Philippe 1977:106; Williams 1928:439), it

was used in cooking fried dishes (Bartram 1853:49; De Vorsey 1971:111; Lanman 1849:405; Mooney 1900a:273) and as a condiment or sauce (Butrick n.d.b:169-171; Williams 1927:43, 1930:437,438); nonfood products included ointments (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:170; Williams 1930:4) for anointing hair (Bartram 1853:30; Butrick n.d.b:19,59,234; Williams 1930:129,446), grease for bows (Butrick n.d.b:235; King 1976:93; Williams 1927:85), and essences, or perfumes (Williams 1930:129). Moreover, young men mixed bear oil with buffalo wool and applied this to their ears when piercing and stretching them in order to avoid infection (Harper 1958:318,452; Williams 1930:180).

Bear skins and/or furs served as winter hunting garments (Williams 1930:7), leggings (Mooney 1900a:361), and shoes (Williams 1930:9), as well as bedclothes (De Vorsey 1971:110; Speck 1927:112; Williams 1927:43,62, 1930:19,452), saddle pads (Williams 1930:457), and occasionally trade exports (Thwaites 1904:264). Bear's hair was sometimes dyed and spun into thread for making cloth (Butrick n.d.b:174). Moreover, thongs of twisted bear entrails were used as bowstrings (Butrick n.d.b:235; Davis 1910:48; King 1976:93,96,97; Mooney 1885:89, 1900a:250; Williams 1927:86).

The buffalo, or bison, **yansa** supplied the raw material for a number of necessary items. Its flesh was highly prized as a food source (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241; Mereness 1916:245; Mooney 1900a:263; Ulmer and Beck

1951:65; Williams 1927:61,120-121, 1928:153, 1930:446), and its hide served as winter clothes, i.e., mantles (Williams 1927:77, 1930:8), as well as bedding (Mooney 1900a:263; Williams 1930:19,446,452), saddles (Williams 1930:457), and possibly trade exports (McDowell 1955:77). Horns were carved into eating utensils, particularly spoons (Butrick n.d.b:21,62,171,241; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Mooney 1900a:263; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:66; Williams 1930:452), and into trumpets (Butrick n.d.b:25,50,309), one of several Cherokee musical instruments. Buffalo hair, or wool, was spun into yarn for making cloth (Williams 1930:446,454) and belts (Mooney 1900a:263) or into cords for tying together chest boxes (Williams 1930:452) and saddles (Williams 1930:457). Moreover, young men mixed the wool with bear oil and applied this to their ears when piercing and stretching them in order to avoid infection (Williams 1930:180).

Other large mammals included elk **ahwi egwa** and panther, or mountain lion, **tlvdaji.** The former animal was hunted for its flesh (Butrick n.d.b:62,241; Williams 1930:446-447) as well as for its hide, which served as shoes (Williams 1930:9). Panther skins were used as winter hunting garments (Williams 1930:7); in addition, pieces cut with the hair still intact and to which bells were attached were commonly worn by men as neck bands (Butrick n.d.b:19, 59,234-235). Furthermore, the hides of both animals were frequently used as bedclothes (Williams 1930:452).

Smaller mammals were also of considerable value. The meat of several kinds, including rabbit **jisdu** (Bartram 1853:47; Grant 1975:246; Mereness 1916:245; Williams 1928:153), squirrel **saloli** (Grant 1975:246; Ulmer and Beck 1951:54,59), raccoon **kvhli** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:57,65), opossum **sihgwa ujetsdi** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:57), groundhog **ogana** (Ulmer and Beck 1951:54,57) (which was sometimes pounded into sausage [Mooney 1900a:507] or used as bait for catching crayfish [Ulmer and Beck 1951:54]), and possibly beaver **doya** (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Williams 1928:37, 1930:139), was consumed. The latter animal, however, was generally hunted for its skins and pelts, which were sometimes worn as "matchcoats," or mantles (McDowell 1955:107), or as winter hunting garments (Williams 1930:7), but more often were traded, along with deer skins, in exchange for European goods (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:213; McDowell 1955, 1970; Williams 1928:29). The skins/furs of the otter **jiya** were worn by men as headbands and conical-shaped caps (Butrick n.d.b:18-19,59,234) or as winter hunting garments (Williams 1930:7) and were sometimes exported (Thwaites 1904:264); those of the weasel **jisdeji daloni** (Williams 1928:477) and mink **svgi** (Louis-Philippe 1977:90) served as tobacco pouches. The white hair of the opossum was spun into thread, which was dyed several colors (yellow, black, and red) and then interwoven to make young

men's garters and girdles (Butrick n.d.b:174). The porcupine was not indigenous to the Cherokee country, hut its quills may have been imported (Swanton 1979:251), as one descriptive account mentioned its use as moccasin ornamentation (Williams 1927:76), and another, as headband decoration (Harper 1958:318,600).

The dog **gihli** was the only native domestic mammal among the Cherokee (Fries 1970:1982; Harper 1958:228,494-495; Klinck and Talman 1970:81; Malone 1956a:22; Mereness 1916:113; Public Record Office 1725; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:101,257,490). It was frequently used by hunters in locating and pursuing wild game (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:400; Mooney 1900a:308,314,329,465; Williams 1930:331).

Introduced Old World Animals

Old World animals were introduced following European contact. Although initially rejected (Williams 1930:139), these domesticates were gradually adopted hy the Cherokee and, by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, constituted an integral part of Cherokee secular culture.

The horse **sogwili** was the first Old World animal introduced to the Cherokee on a regular hasis. Colonial traders from the eastern seaboard travelled into the interior regions by land, using pack horses to carry their merchandise--e.g., guns, brass kettles, and rum--to the

Indians and to bring back deer skins, beaver furs, and other native commodities to the colonies (McDowell 1955:73, 1958). As early as 1711, traders residing among the various Southeast Indian groups were instructed to restrain their horses from ranging into Indian agricultural fields (McDowell 1955:14-15). The traders, however, were quite negligent regarding this matter, and, in 1725, several Cherokee headmen of the Lower towns complained to Colonel George Chicken, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, of the damage being continually inflicted upon their corn crop (Mereness 1916:154,158; Public Record Office 1725).

The year 1740 marked the opening of the horse path from Augusta, Georgia, to the Cherokee country (Mooney 1900a:36). Within the next two decades, the Cherokee were acquiring horses for their own use (McDowell 1958; Williams 1927:72, 1930:242), primarily for servile purposes (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828) as beasts of burden (Bartram 1853:32; Hawkins 1916:16) and as an efficient means of transportation (Harper 1958:230,528-529; Hawkins 1916:16; Louis-Philippe 1977:91; McDowell 1970:215; Williams 1928:477). The latter use became increasingly important as the intensification of trade relations with the colonies transformed hunting into more of a commercial endeavor rather than a form of subsistence; the resultant overexploitation and depletion of game necessitated hunting trips of longer duration and greater distances (Hawkins 1916:23), thereby extending the hunting

range, in order to procure a sufficient number of deer skins (Newman 1979:103).

Horses were easy to maintain and were usually tethered in canebrakes (Fries 1970:1985; Williams 1928:261, 1930:241) with tough young bark ropes (Williams 1930:436). These animals as well as such furniture as saddles and bridles were sometimes obtained as gifts from British colonial officials (McDowell 1958:161-162,453-454, 1970:76) and as bribes from the rival French (Williams 1928:178) or were bartered in exchange for deer skins (McDowell 1958:146, 1970:567-568,577-578). A large number, however, were stolen from neighboring white settlements (De Vorsey 1971:108; Fries 1968:165; McDowell 1958, 1970:94,178; Richardson 1759; Williams 1928:460, 1931:128). Such incidents occurred quite frequently and sometimes led to major hostilities as the Cherokee War of 1760-1761 with the British (Alden 1944:78; Corkran 1962:150; Hamer 1925b:442-443,457; Williams 1927:12-13). Moreover, some horses were, in turn, traded for European items, particularly rum and brandy (De Vorsey 1971:108). Various treaties between the Cherokee and the colonies (Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:93; Henderson 1931:103,107), and later the United States (American State Papers 1832:124,543,638; Royce 1887:171), included provisions pertaining to the return of all livestock, particularly horses, that had been stolen. Also, it is interesting to note that the first act ever enacted by the Cherokee National Council on internal

affairs, which was in 1808, involved the establishment of regulating companies to suppress horse thefts (American State Papers 1834:283; Persico 1979:99,103), indicating that such thievery occurred within the tribal population as well.

The horse continued to be quite common among the Cherokee until the time of the Cherokee Removal to the West in 1838 (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Hawkins 1916:56; Kilpatrick 1966:197; Klinck and Talman 1970; Lanman 1849:416; Louis-Philippe 1977:75,91; Royce 1887:240; United States Senate 1846:14; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1927:72, 1928:477,479, 485,490) and was mostly used as a means of transport. Its products were only occasionally used. Horse flesh was not a part of the daily diet (Bartram 1853:47); nevertheless, it was consumed in times of crisis when food supplies were scarce as in the Cherokee War (Public Record Office 1761:599; Williams 1927:67, 1930:242; Yonge 1933:35). Nonedible products served ornamental purposes: Horse hair and horse hide, both dyed red, sometimes decorated tobacco pouches (Louis-Philippe 1977:90) or were used as hair bands (Louis-Philippe 1977:95), respectively.

The pig, or hog, **sihgwa** was another Old World animal that was introduced quite early by resident traders (McDowell 1955:14-15, 1970; Williams 1930:444), but the Cherokee originally regarded this slow, heavy, wallowing

creature with much abhorrence[1] (Williams 1930:17,137,139, 140,141). Nevertheless, by the mid-eighteenth century, swine were being raised (Fyffe 1761:5; Williams 1927:72) in response to a diminishing supply of wild animal food resulting from overexploitation (McDowell 1970:264; Newman 1979:103). Moreover, women assumed a greater role in subsistence as they were responsible for tending to these animals (Williams 1930:242,436), thus providing the meat, while the men became increasingly involved in hunting for the deer skin trade (Newman 1979:103). Some swine were raised for sale to local colonial traders and soldiers (Corkran 1962:198; Williams 1930:241,242).

Swine were relatively easy to keep, requiring minimal care and space. They were usually confined to small pens (Williams 1930:242,436) and, because of their scavenging diet, fed on whatever weeds and mast--e.g., acorns (Quercus spp.), hickory (Carya spp.), and chestnuts (Castanea spp.) --were available (Klinck and Talman 1970:132; Williams 1930:242,444). By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, swine were very abundant (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Hawkins 1916:21,22,23,56; Kilpatrick 1966:197; Klinck and Talman 1970; Royce 1887:240,260; United States Senate 1846:14; Virginia State

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[1]One very early ethnographic/historical account (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Williams 1928:37) mentioned a Cherokee hunting expedition in the 1670s in which they killed "many swine, sturgin and beavers and barbicued them." The term "swine" may refer to introduced feral European pigs/hogs since this account predated any record of pig/hog raising among the Cherokee.

Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:479,485,490), outnumbering all other introduced fauna (Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Klinck and Talman 1970:162); they were depended upon as a primary meat source, e.g., bacon and pork (Bartram 1853:47; Foreman 1956:152,154; Hawkins 1916:23; Klinck and Talman 1970:71,119,134,146; Williams 1928:492), and, at times, were raised for sale to markets (Williams 1928:464) as well as to individual traders (Louis-Philippe 1977:79).

Chickens **jitaga** were also quite numerous by the second half of the eighteenth century (Fyffe 1761:5; Hawkins 1916:18,21,23; Virginia State Archives 1909:61; Williams 1928:479,485,490, 1930:241,443) and were raised for their meat (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87; Foreman 1956:152; Ulmer and Beck 1951:53) and eggs (Fries 1970:1982; Klinck and Talman 1970:119; Ulmer and Beck 1951:57; Williams 1928:258, 1930:442). Moreover, some of these birds were fattened and bartered with local whites in exchange for salt, cotton, and other necessities (Corkran 1962:198; Hawkins 1916:18,21; Williams 1930:241); their eggs were also sometimes traded (Louis-Philippe 1977:82; Williams 1928:464).

Cattle **wahga** were adopted fairly late, though they were present in the Cherokee area by the mid-eighteenth century. Some were raised by local traders (Fries 1970:1985; Fyffe 1761:5; Williams 1928:261, 1930:138), and, in the 1750s, additional stock was brought in for those whites assisting in the construction and maintenance of the colonial forts.

Forty head of cattle were kept by the Virginian colonists who built a small log fort, Virginia Fort, one mile (1.6 km) north of Chota in the summer of 1756 (McDowell 1970:132). Within the next few years (late 1756 to 1760), several herds were delivered to the garrison stationed at the South Carolinian-built Fort Loudoun (Hamer 1925a: 315,317, 1925b:446; McDowell 1970). It was at this time that the Cherokee may have begun acquiring cattle for their own use as British colonial officials distributed steers and beef quarters to a number of individuals (McDowell 1970:173-174,215).

By the American Revolutionary period, more Cherokee were obtaining cattle (Harper 1958:221,467; Virginia State Archives 1909:61). One of the articles in the Treaty of Long Island on Holston River of July 1777 stipulated that the Virginia colony give the Cherokee 200 cows (and 100 sheep) in exchange for a cession of land (Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:94; Henderson 1931:105; Meriwether 1904:443). Other cattle, however, were stolen from neighboring white settlements (Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:93; Henderson 1931:103, 107; Williams 1930:138). Dairying was introduced into the Cherokee economy during this time by a Beloved Woman named Nancy Ward, who learned the art of making butter and cheese from a white woman prisoner whom she had saved from being burned at the stake (McClary 1962:357; Tucker 1969:195). Moreover, Ward maintained friendly relations with the colonists, and, in the later years of the war, she

furnished beef from her own private herd, intended as a peace offering, to feed the American troops planning to attack the Overhill towns (McClary 1962:358; Tucker 1969:195-196; Williams 1974:189).

Cattle, unlike horses and swine, however, require a great amount of labor and attention. Large tracts of land must be set aside and cleared for pasture and free range, and agricultural fields must be fenced so that these wandering animals do not damage the crops (Malone 1956a:22; Newman 1979:104; Williams 1930:242). Consequently, cattle were not widely accepted until the Cherokee changed from a mixed economy to one of full-time farming.

This dramatic shift began to occur in the last decade of the eighteenth century and was the result of several major causal factors: continual white encroachment and settlement upon their territory as well as numerous land cessions (Royce 1887), both leading to a reduction in the total amount of area claimed by the Cherokee Nation (Mooney 1900a:plate III); depletion of game resources from overexploitation (American State Papers 1832:205; Hawkins 1916:23; Klinck and Talman 1970:130-132); and implementation of the American government's Indian policy of planned acculturation (Newman 1979:104). In the Treaty of Holston of 1791, the United States advocated directed agricultural reform and promised to provide the Cherokee with the essential tools and implements, as well as to teach the technical skills required for their use, in order

to achieve this objective (American State Papers 1832:205; Royce 1887). Through such federal Indian agents as Benjamin Hawkins and Return Jonathan Meigs, the Cherokee were encouraged to cultivate extensive fields of corn, use the plow, raise large stocks of cattle and swine, establish home industries including cotton spinning and manufacturing of cloth, and develop commerce (Hawkins 1916; Klinck and Talman 1970; Malone 1956a:137-141, 1956b; Williams 1928: 445-525).

Thus, by the late 1790s and early 1800s, the cattle population had rapidly increased in number (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Hawkins 1916; Kilpatrick 1966:197; Klinck and Talman 1970; Lanman 1849:416; Louis-Philippe 1977:75; Royce 1887:240,260; United States Senate 1846:14; Williams 1928:485,490) and was primarily depended upon as an important source of meat, i.e., beef (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87; Foreman 1956:152-153,154; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Malone 1956a:140), and dairy products, such as milk (Harper 1958:222,564; Klinck and Talman 1970:143; Louis-Philippe 1977:83; Williams 1928:486,487,492), butter (American State Papers 1834:651; Harper 1958:221; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Mooney 1900a:112; Royce 1887:240; Williams 1928:464,492), and cheese (American State Papers 1834:651; Harper 1958:221; Mooney 1900a:112; Royce 1887:240). Moreover, some were raised and fattened for sale to markets (Cherokee Phoenix 1831; Hawkins 1916:16; Klinck and Talman

1970:57,60,117), often in other states (Cherokee Phoenix 1831). In the winter, cattle were generally left to feed in canebrakes, which abounded along the river banks during those months, and, in the summer, were dispersed near salt licks (Klinck and Talman 1970:57,72,132; Williams 1930:241).

Several other Old World animals were also acquired fairly late. Sheep **ahwi-unodena** was first mentioned in the historical records of the American Revolutionary period. At the Treaty of Long Island on Holston River of July 1777, the Virginia colony promised the Cherokee 100 sheep (and 200 cows) in exchange for a cession of land (Hagy and Folmsbee 1973:94; Henderson 1931:105). By the nineteenth century, flocks of sheep were fairly common in the Cherokee country (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Klinck and Talman 1970:162; Lanman 1849:416; Royce 1887:240,260; United States Senate 1846:14) and were utilized for their wool production (Malone 1956a:139; Mooney 1900a:112) rather than as a dietary item. Goats **ahwi-ahanulvhi** were also present at this time (American State Papers 1834:651; Cherokee Phoenix 1828; Royce 1887:240), probably serving as an occasional source of meat (Bartram 1853:47). Bees **wadulisi** were domesticated in hives (Malone 1956a:22,139), primarily for their honey (Butrick n.d.b:21,241; Mooney 1900a:82; Swanton 1979:252), and, by the turn of the century, a thriving trade in this product

as well as in beeswax had been established (Brown 1938a:445; Mooney 1900a:82). Cats **wesa** were sometimes kept (Williams 1928:490), probably as pets and/or as a means of keeping away such pests as rats and mice.

Thus, by the nineteenth century, the raising of domestic animals demonstrated a steady growth. According to a census in 1810, the Cherokee Nation as a whole owned 19,778 swine, 19,165 cattle, 6,519 horses, and 1,037 sheep (Klinck and Talman 1970:162). These numbers increased substantially within the next decade, and, in 1824, a survey done by the Cherokee Indian government recorded the following totals: 46,700 swine, 22,531 cattle, 7,683 horses, 2,917 sheep, and 438 goats (Cherokee Phoenix 1828).

Preservation, Preparation, and Consumption of Animal Foods

Preservation

Preservation was an essential prerequisite for the storage of animal foods for future use. By retarding spoilage, this treatment extended the period of time over which consumption of such resources was possible.

Animal flesh was most frequently preserved by drying, usually by hanging the meat over or before a slow fire, i.e., barbecuing (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Butrick n.d.b; Cheves 1894:328; Chiltoskey 1975:242; Mooney

1900a:293,361,366,456; Payne n.d.; Swanton 1979:374-375; Ulmer and Beck 1951; Williams 1928:37, 1930:104,408,432, 446,447). Drying was used for large mammals, such as deer (Butrick n.d.b; Cheves 1894:328; Mooney 1885:90, 1900a:293, 340,366; Williams 1927:43,55-56, 1930:408,447), bear (Mooney 1900a:361; Ulmer and Beck 1951:60; Williams 1930:408,446,447), and buffalo (Williams 1930:447), and for fish (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:82,213,223; Chiltoskey 1975:242; Grant 1975:246; Ulmer and Beck 1951:47; Williams 1928:28,37, 1930:432).

Meat to be dried by barbecuing was cut into small strips or chunks, strung on a spit, and placed over or before a fire, turning often until it was thoroughly cooked and quite dry (Ulmer and Beck 1951:46,47,60; Williams 1930:446). The flesh was then removed from the stick, threaded on bark thong or bear-grass (Yucca filamentosa Linnaeus) (Ulmer and Beck 1951:46,47) or a basswood (Tilia spp.) stick (Ulmer and Beck 1951:60), and hung up for later use.

This method of drying was often practiced on hunting trips (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223; Butrick n.d.b; Cheves 1894:328; Mooney 1900a:293,456; Payne n.d.; Williams 1928:37, 1930:104,447); at the camp site, freshly killed game was temporarily set on a drying pole (Mooney 1900a:293,340,456). The latter consisted of a long stick resting horizontally upon the forks of two upright stakes firmly planted in the ground and served to protect the

carcass from prey animals as well as to allow it to dry before the fire (Mooney 1900a:456). Moreover, such a technique not only prevented decomposition of the flesh but also facilitated its conveyance back to the village, as the meat was cut into portable pieces and then strung together after being dried.

Other meat preservation processes included drying by means of exposure to smoke (Fyffe 1761:5; Klinck and Talman 1970:128; Williams 1928:492) and occasionally salting (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:213; Butrick n.d.b:121; Hawkins 1916:21; Ulmer and Beck 1951:60; Williams 1928:28). Salt was obtained from moss growing in the bottom of nearby creeks and rivers (Butrick n.d.b:121).

It should be noted that the meat of certain animals was generally not preserved. Birds, for example, were usually prepared and consumed immediately subsequent to the time of capture (Witthoft 1946b:374).

Nonmeat animal foods were also preserved for use at a later time. Oil, particularly that of bear, was extracted by frying the fat over a fire, mixing it with sassafras (Sassafras albidum [Nuttall] Nees) and wild cinnamon (species unidentified) (Williams 1930:446). This was then stored in large earthen (clay) jars set in the ground (Williams 1930:446) or in containers made of deer skin (Butrick n.d.b:21,241).

Preparation and Consumption

All meats were prepared for consumption by one or a combination of several different methods. Such foods were never consumed raw but rather were usually thoroughly cooked (Klinck and Talman 1970:134) and quite often overdone (Williams 1927:61, 1930:141,442).

Roasting was a common technique for cooking various kinds of animal flesh (Foreman 1956:154; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Mereness 1916:243; Mooney 1900a:251,361,366,401, 422,469; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255; Ulmer and Beck 1951; Williams 1927:57, 1928:151, 1930:141; Witthoft 1946b:374). Pieces of meat of larger animals, such as deer, bear, and buffalo (Mooney 1900a:361,366; Ulmer and Beck 1951:65), or whole carcasses of smaller mammals (e.g., squirrel, groundhog, raccoon, and opossum [Ulmer and Beck 1951:54,57,59]), birds (Mooney 1900a:251,401; Ulmer and Beck 1951:55; Witthoft 1946b:374) (e.g., quail and pheasant [Ulmer and Beck 1951:55,57-58]), or fish (Ulmer and Beck 1951:51,55,60) were impaled on a stick, sometimes made of sourwood (Oxydendrum arboreum [Linnaeus] Augustin Pyramus de Candolle) (Mooney 1900a:422,469), which was set over or before a fire. "Edible" insects were also roasted, such as the larvae of yellow-jackets (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255; Ulmer and Beck 1951:56) and locusts (cicadas) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255).

Other methods were frying (Ulmer and Beck 1951; Williams 1927:57) and boiling (Butrick n.d.b:159,217;

Foreman 1956:152,154; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Payne n.d.:78,94; Ulmer and Beck 1951; Williams 1927:57, 1930:141,438). The former procedure was used in preparing crayfish (Ulmer and Beck 1951:54) and locusts (cicadas) (Ulmer and Beck 1951:56-57), both of which were cooked in grease until crisp. In several dishes, including pheasant (Ulmer and Beck 1951:55) and certain squirrel (Ulmer and Beck 1951:54) recipes, however, the meat was first browned by roasting and then fried until done.

Boiling was also employed, either alone or in conjunction with other cooking processes. Certain meats --crayfish, toad, spring frog, groundhog, raccoon, opossum (Ulmer and Beck 1951), and pork (Foreman 1956:154)--were initially parboiled prior to being roasted or fried. More frequently, however, boiling was practiced subsequent to roasting or frying in order to make soups and/or stews.

Soups consisted of roasted or fried pieces of meat that were cooked in a pot of plain water with cornmeal sometimes added as a thickening agent (Chiltoskey 1975:242; Foreman 1956:152; Grant 1975:246; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:443; Ulmer and Beck 1951). Quite often, flesh that had been previously dried by barbecuing was first shredded or pounded in a mortar until soft and then boiled (Butrick n.d.b:159,217; Mooney 1885:90; Payne n.d.:78,94; Ulmer and Beck 1951:46-47,60). Favorite soups were yellow-jacket (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:443; Ulmer and Beck 1951:56), crayfish, egg, quail, bear, meat skin (Ulmer and

Beck 1951), fish (Chiltoskey 1975:242; Ulmer and Beck 1951) (e.g., minnow [Grant 1975:246]), and beef (Foreman 1956:152).

Stews were also prepared by boiling animal flesh and sometimes adding vegetables and cornmeal (Foreman 1956:153; Ulmer and Beck 1951). Recipes have been recorded for such meats as crayfish, fish, pheasant, chicken, squirrel, groundhog (Ulmer and Beck 1951), and beef (Foreman 1956:153). Chicken was often stewed together with corn and occasionally beans (Ulmer and Beck 1951:53).

Cooking utensils for frying and boiling consisted of pans and pots, respectively, which were generally made of earthenware (clay vessels) (Butrick n.d.b:21,241; Chiltoskey 1975:242; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Klinck and Talman 1970:134; Williams 1927:86, 1930:456). Although these native items continued to be used following contact, brass and tin kettles of European manufacture were imported from the colonies and also became popular household wares (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:214; De Vorsey 1971:107; McDowell 1955:89; Public Record Office 1730; Schwarze 1923:177; Williams 1928:29,141, 1930:437).

Dishes included plates and bowls made of small flat baskets of split cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) (Williams 1927:61) or fabricated out of clay (Fries 1970:1982; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Williams 1928:257, 1930:456) or wood (Chiltoskey 1975:242; Foreman 1956:152; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Williams 1930:452) such as buckeye

(Aesculus octandra Marshall) (Chiltoskey 1975:242). Small bottle gourds (Lagenaria vulgaris Seringe) functioned as water drinking vessels (Butrick n.d.b:21,241; Williams 1927:61). Spoons carved out of buffalo horn (Butrick n.d.b:21,62,171,241; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Mooney 1900a:263; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:66; Williams 1930:452) or wood (Butrick n.d.b:21,62,171,241; Chiltoskey 1975:242; Kilpatrick 1966:192; Louis-Philippe 1977:84; Mooney 1900a:422; Williams 1928:479, 1930:452), such as buckeye (Aesculus octandra Marshall) (Chiltoskey 1975:242), sourwood (Oxydendrum arboreum [Linnaeus] Augustin Pyramus de Candolle), rhododendron (Rhododendron spp.), and mountain laurel (Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus) (Mooney 1900a:422), were used for eating soups (Butrick n.d.b:21,62,241; Harper 1958:222; Williams 1928:479); fingers, however, served as forks and knives (Fries 1970:1982; Williams 1927:61, 1928:257) for the consumption of solid foods.

The Cherokee did not maintain a regular well-defined meal pattern (De Vorsey 1971:108) but rather partook of food when it was available (Chiltoskey 1975:241-242) and/or when hungry (Fyffe 1761:5). Within the household, male and female members ate separately, the former always preceding the latter (Williams 1928:492). Only at ceremonial feasts did they eat together and at the same time (Butrick n.d.b; Payne n.d.).

The various products derived from both native and introduced animals, which were used in secular aspects of Cherokee daily life, are presented in Appendix B.

CHAPTER 6
ANIMALS IN CHEROKEE IDEOLOGY AND RITUAL

> . . . religious beliefs and practices are something more than "grotesque" reflections or expressions of economic, political, and social relationships; rather are they coming to be seen as decisive keys to the understanding of how people think and feel about those relationships, and about the natural and social environments in which they operate.
>
> Victor W. Turner (1969:6)

This chapter examines the significance of animals in Cherokee ideology and ritual. The first section provides a summary discussion of the major aspects of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee ideology and the expression of this body of beliefs and knowledge in their ritual practices of that time period. This is followed by detailed descriptive accounts of each animal, native and introduced, in terms of its role(s) within these traditions.

Cherokee Ideology and Ritual

Mythology, Folktales, and Folk Beliefs and Knowledge

The Cherokee embodied much of their commonly held traditional beliefs and knowledge in their mythology. Over 200 stories have been collected and are available in the published literature where they have been subdivided into a number of categories: cosmogonic myths, wonder stories, historical traditions, local legends, and animal tales (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King and King 1975; Mooney 1900a).

Cosmogonic myths explained the genesis and nature of the world as well as the origin of certain elements most basic to Cherokee daily life, including fire, game, corn, disease, and medicine. Furthermore, they provided justification for human existence and represented the human relationship with the surrounding environment as one of harmony and balance (Butrick 1884, n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1969:26,27; Davis 1910, 1937; De Baillou 1961:100-102; Hudson 1970, 1976; Kilpatrick 1966:187-189; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King and King 1975; Lanman 1849:429-430,442-443; Mooney 1888, 1900a; Payne n.d.).

The universe was viewed as a three-layered cosmos. The Middle, or This, World was a great flat island (earth) floating on a sea of water and suspended from the sky

vault, an inverted bowl of solid rock, by four cords attached at each of the cardinal directions. The Under World was located beneath the Middle World and the waters. The Upper World was above the sky vault, which, in turn, covered the Middle World (Mooney 1900a:239-240). Each of these realms had certain symbolic values, gods, and animals associated with it. This World, which was created last, was the norm and was the habitation of ordinary people, i.e., Cherokee, and terrestrial animals and plants. The Under World was one of chaos and disorder and was occupied by water-dwelling animals, such as fish and snakes, as well as by the "Long Man," or River god. The Upper World, on the other hand, epitomized perfection and purity and was the original home of the animal characters in the myths as well as the residence of the Sun god (Hudson 1970:51-52, 1976:122-128, 1984:11-12; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney 1900a).

The wonder stories involved powerful and unusual people or creatures, some of whom could transform themselves into various shapes. Among these characters were the following: apocryphal animals, such as the mythical fish **Dagwa**, the mythical horned snake **Uktena**, and the mythical hawk **Sanuwa**; the Stone Man, who, prior to being sacrificed, taught the Cherokee all the formulas and songs necessary for hunting, treatment of disease, and all other rituals; the Slant-Eyed Giant, the keeper of the

game; the magician and gambler Brass; Fleakiller; Spear-Finger, the woman ogress who ate human livers; Flint; the Thunder gods; and various kinds of spirits, such as the Little People (Davis 1909; Kilpatrick 1966:186-187,189-190; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King and King 1975; Lanman 1849:390-391; Mooney 1900a; Ten Kate 1889; Terrell 1892; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250-251; Witthoft 1946a).

The historical traditions presented some information pertaining to the real Cherokee past, particularly early Cherokee/white contact, war exploits, personal heroic accounts, and Cherokee relations (war and peace) with other Indian groups, such as the Iroquois (especially Seneca, Mohawk, and Tuscarora), Shawano, Delaware, Catawba, Cheraw, Creek, Natchez, Chickasaw, and Choctaw. Local legends mostly entailed explanations for particular topographical designations of a number of places in the Cherokee country (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King and King 1975; Lanman 1849:382-383; Mooney 1900a).

Animal tales, unlike the myths previously discussed, were generally intended for amusement and were therefore primarily of a humorous nature. Some of these stories were parables; others provided explanations for the manner in which particular animals acquired their distinctive physical and/or behavioral traits (Davis 1910, 1937; Hedges 1973; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King and King 1975;

Lanman 1849:443; Mooney 1888, 1900a; Olbrechts 1931; Speck 1927).

The animal characters appearing throughout the mythology were large, powerful, and generally intelligent creatures. They represented the great predecessors, or progenitors, of the present common everyday animals, small and weak imitations arriving on earth at a later period (Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:262). These prototypes were endowed with many human qualities, e.g., speech (Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:250), and were conceptualized as being organized, both socially and politically, into a society resembling that of the Cherokee Nation. The various animals were grouped into separate clans; they had chiefs, town houses (or council houses), and village settlements, and they held councils, ball plays, and war expeditions (Gilbert 1978:186,301; Hudson 1970:52,54, 1976:160; Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:261). Furthermore, the interactions among the animals in the myths were patterned after the various types of actual relationships and values prevalent among the Cherokee themselves. Several elements pervasive in both realms included the following: jokester trickery, most exemplified by the prankster Rabbit, in comparison with the joking between certain Cherokee kinfolk; theft, e.g., the stealing of fire and tobacco, probably analogous to the strong belief in and great fear of witches, who robbed

individuals of their souls and life spans; and conjuration, e.g., conjuring acts of the Terrapin, parallel to the important role of magic (Gilbert 1937:310,335, 1978:186, 301-304).

The nature of the relationship between the animal actors and human beings, on the other hand, seemed to reflect the character of earlier Cherokee international affairs in which wars were waged; the principle of retaliation, i.e, blood revenge and corporate responsibility,[1] was demanded and enforced; alliances were contracted; and peace finally attained (Gilbert 1978:186,301). In the mythology, the animals were continuously in conflict with humans, whom they viewed as extremely aggressive, and they devised various diseases

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[1]Both blood revenge and corporate responsibility were traditional aspects of the Cherokee principle of retaliation. Blood revenge constituted a part of the Cherokee domestic law of homicide, involving the principle of retaliation between Cherokee clans (intratribal), and referred to the right of the victim's clan to hold the clan of the murderer as collectively liable. Members of the murderer's clan were not to interfere as the offended clan justly carried out its duty of killing the slayer or some other person in that clan; this death was supposed to go unavenged. Thus, interclan vengeance was a privileged act that evened the score and that could not be revenged; consequently, perpetual blood feuds were avoided, and peace between the two clans was maintained. Corporate responsibility, on the other hand, constituted a part of the Cherokee international law of homicide, involving the principle of retaliation between the Cherokee Nation and some other (non-Cherokee) tribe or nation, and referred to the right of the victim's clan or nation to hold the nation of the murderer as collectively liable. Intertribal vengeance, however, was never privileged and was seldom overlooked; consequently, it often led to war, as retaliatory killings between the two nations could continue indefinitely (Reid 1970, 1979).

with which they inflicted them as a means of defense (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389; Mooney 1890a:45-46, 1900a:250-252,261-262). Humans, however, still retained the supreme power in their role as predators but were, nevertheless, compelled to uphold a respectful attitude toward the animals they killed. Upon slaying game, the hunter was required to recite the proper prayers for obtaining pardon so that the relatives of the deceased animal would not seek revenge either by murdering or by implanting a disease into the guilty person or his/her close kin (Mooney 1900a:261-262,263-264,265,281-283,293-294,295,305-306,453). An afflicted person might be cured of such ailments by using specific plants, depending upon the animal and disease involved. According to the cosmogonic myth regarding the origin of disease, each plant had furnished a cure to counteract the animals' evil effects (Mooney 1890a:46, 1900a:252).

The type of interaction among people, animals, and plants, which was illustrated in Cherokee mythology, reflected a world view, whereby nature was a system of balanced relationships of which humankind was a part. The Cherokee were compelled, by necessity, to utilize the environment as a means of survival; but they were also well aware that they should do this with great care so as not to abuse or to inflict injury upon it (Hudson 1970, 1976: 156-160).

One final note of interest pertaining to Cherokee mythology concerned the types of animals mentioned in contrast to that of western Biblical traditions. The former dealt primarily with wild native animals, such as deer and turkey, and the latter consisted almost entirely of domestic animals, such as cow and sheep.

In addition to the mythology, several other sources were informative of Cherokee folk beliefs. Food taboos and the reasons associated with such prohibitions were representative of Cherokee feelings toward different animals (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick 1884:12, n.d.a, n.d.b; Evans n.d.:8; Grant 1975:246; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1968:53; Mooney 1890b:110, 1891, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Payne n.d.:46; Williams 1930; Witthoft 1946b:374). Omens and signs were also very common. Dreams of certain animals and/or of their products or the actual occurrence of particular animal behaviors or sounds was considered a sign generally foreboding misfortune, especially in regard to sickness and death (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1969:44-47; Kilpatrick 1966:186-187; Mooney 1885, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Speck and Broom 1951; Williams 1930; Witthoft 1946a, 1946b).

Sacred Formulas

The sacred formulas, or verbal charms, totalling approximately 600 in number (Mooney 1891:307), were the exclusive personal property of the Cherokee ritual specialists,[2] who were frequently called upon to recite or to sing these memorized prayers and were well paid for their services. Such traditional knowledge had been passed down orally since ancient times. With the invention of Sequoyah's syllabary in the early nineteenth century, however, these specialists were able to record this information, thereby ensuring its preservation for posterity as well as initiating the development of a sacred literature (Mooney 1891, 1900a:112; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; White 1962:511). The formulas encompassed practically every aspect of the life and thought of the Cherokee people (Mooney 1891:307) and thus provided not only an accurate representation of their ideology but also

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[2]The term ritual specialist refers to those individuals (usually male but sometimes female) who acted as intermediaries between the world of spirits (gods) and the members of their society. They performed a number of functions, including prevention and treatment of disease (use of materia medica, or pharmacopoeia), purificatory rites ("going to water"), and divination ("divining crystal" and "examining with the beads"). Various terms have been used in the literature, often ambiguously, in reference to these ritual specialists. Nevertheless, there appear to be several different kinds of ritual specialists among the Cherokee. Two categories are distinguished in the present study. The term shaman is defined here as a ritual specialist who usually carried out certain rites for the benefit of an individual or small group of people. The term priest applied to a ritual specialist who held a high sacred office, civil or military, and usually conducted rituals on behalf of the community as a whole.

a fairly complete demonstration of its expression within the ceremonial system of which it was an essential element.

The subject matter of these texts was quite extensive. The greatest proportion (circa 50%) dealt with disease and medicine (Mooney 1891:307), topics of paramount concern, and was based upon the Cherokee theory that attributed sickness and death to the evil influence of vengeful animal spirits (the operation of the principle of retaliation, i.e., blood revenge and corporate responsibility, as previously defined), ghosts, or witches or to the violations of ceremonial regulations (Mooney 1890a:45-46, 1891; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932). The various types of ailments addressed have been grouped into a number of categories, including the following (Cherokee examples are provided in parentheses): genitourinary disorders ("eaters"); snake dreams and snakebites; indigestion ("yellow," "navel," "breast"); fainting; worms; bowel troubles (diarrhea); rheumatism and other pains ("crippler," "breast aches"); chills and fever ("hot"); frostbite; skin disorders (blister); birth and menstrual problems; wounds (cut, bullet or arrow wound); miscellaneous problems, such as headaches, toothaches, earaches, sore eyes ("drooping"), and throat troubles; and "simulator" diseases, those that resembled other diseases, consequently being diagnosed by the shaman as caused by spirits or ghosts, but that were eventually attributed to

the machinations of a human agent (i.e., witchcraft) (Mooney 1890a, 1891; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932).

The remaining formulas were nonmedicinal and were primarily love charms or prayers and songs for attracting game and ensuring success in hunting and fishing. Other topics included were agriculture, warfare, self-protection, revenge and destruction of enemies, witchcraft, and the ball play (Mooney 1890b, 1891, 1900a, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Speck and Broom 1951).

The sacred formulas, whether recited or sung, manifested a fairly consistent structural pattern. They were usually composed of four paragraphs (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:158) in which an invocation was made calling upon certain spiritual forces to effect a desired result (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:159). Nevertheless, the text was generally declarative and commanding rather than petitional in form (Mooney 1891:344). The name of the spiritual agent implored was mentioned, often accompanied by a laudatory expression of its great powers. In medicinal formulas, this was followed by a statement regarding the identity of the disease culprit and the reason why the spirit addressed possessed the ability to expell it. The final paragraph entailed an emphatic remark that the objectives had been accomplished and concluded with an exclamation (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:159). A set of instructions was appended, consisting of a prescription or directions for a practical bringing about of the

particular request (e.g., the materia medica, or pharmacopoeia, to be used, such as herbal medicines, and/or the restrictions to be observed, such as the avoidance of certain foods, so as to cure a specific disease) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:157-158). Although the content of such appendages has been subjected to various modifications through time, thereby corresponding to changes in other aspects of the culture, the formulas themselves have remained unaltered, their power attributed to their rigid bond to tradition and formalism (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:158-159). This strict adherence to a set format was further demonstrated by the fact that much of the language used remained replete with archaic terms and figurative expressions incomprehensible to the typical Cherokee speaker today (Mooney 1891:343-344; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:160-165).

Numerous spirits and ghosts, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, played a significant role in the majority of the sacred formulas. Ghosts were the immaterial immortal part of those that had lived and died as ordinary creatures and were often regarded as the cause of certain diseases (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:26-29). Spirits, on the other hand, were not intrinsically benevolent or wicked; rather, they were helpful or harmful according to circumstances (Hudson 1984:12; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:19).

Among the anthropomorphic spirits (gods), the most important was the Sun, who was thought to be an old woman

and was called "grandparent." Sacred fire, often referred to as "Ancient Red" or "Ancient White," was her representative on earth. The Moon was regarded as the brother of the Sun. The River, or "Long Man," was addressed at "going to water" ceremonies. Thunder **Kanati**, the Red Man of the East, and his two sons, the Thunder Boys, or the Two Little Red Men, were generally friends of the Cherokee and were often called upon in times of need (Corkran 1953, 1955, 1956, 1969; Hudson 1970, 1976:125-128, 1984:13; Mooney 1891:340-341, 1900a, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:19-25).

Zoomorphic spirits (gods), like the animal actors in the mythology, were the great predecessors, or progenitors, of the smaller, present-day earthly creatures (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:25-26). They frequently occurred in medicinal formulas as causative and/or curative agents of various ailments; they also provided assistance in nonmedicinal formulas for such diverse activities as the ball play, hunting, and agricultural work (Mooney 1890a, 1890b:126,127-128, 1891, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932).

Color symbolism was another important feature of the sacred formulas. Each of the four cardinal points was associated with a particular hue, which, in turn, was endowed with certain meaning: The East, or Sun Land, was red, signifying success, triumph, or war; the North, or Frigid Land, was hlue (and purple), indicating defeat and trouhle; the West, or Darkening Land, was black,

representing death; and the South, or Mountain Wahala, was white, emanating peace and happiness. Other colors included brown, which was assigned an upward direction and was associated with something propitious, and yellow, which was approximately equivalent to blue (Hudson 1970:52, 1976:132, 1984:12; Mooney 1891:342-343,347, 1900b:3; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:43,51).

Each spirit in the sacred formulas was often associated with a particular color and cardinal point, corresponding to the characteristics ascribed to that spirit. For example, the animal spirits, the Yellow Frog and Yellow Chat, were held responsible for a urinary or kidney disease known as "eaters," and the Red Kingfisher was called upon to pull out the disease-causing factor, thereby ridding the patient of the illness; the yellow represented trouble as well as a correspondence between the color of the disease and the causative spiritual agents, and the red signified success and power, attributes assigned to the curative agent (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:178-180). Moreover, a full complement of spirits dwelled in the Upper World at each of the four cardinal points. There was a Red Man, Red Bear, Red Dog, etc., in the East; a Black Man, Black Bear, Black Dog, etc., in the West; and so forth (Hudson 1976:132, 1984:13; Mooney 1891:342). Thus, in one formula, the Black Raven (West), Red Raven (East), Blue Raven (North), and White Raven

(South), representative of each cardinal point, were invoked to cure a "simulator" disease (Mooney 1891:366-369; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:171-173).

Methods Employed by Ritual Specialists

The shaman and/or priest employed a number of different procedures in conjunction with the recitation or singing of various sacred formulas. Most of these procedures were curative and/or purificatory rites that were performed according to the prescription or directions provided in the appendage of the particular formula being used.

The most common method involved preparing and administering certain decoctions and infusions made from various plants (materia medica, or pharmacopoeia). These medicines were usually in the form of a drink and were, at times, used as emetics, causing individuals to vomit, thereby cleansing them internally (Hudson 1975). Such substances were given to victims of various kinds of diseases, i.e., for therapeutic, or curative, purposes (Kilpatrick 1966:186; Mooney 1891; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932), as well as to young boys training to be hunters and to hunters prior to embarking upon an expedition, i.e., purificatory function (Butrick n.d.a; Kilpatrick 1966:193). Although many of these mixtures were prepared solely for purposes of ingestion, in certain cases, some of the drink was applied externally as well, serving as a wash. In some

situations, the entire drink was administered only externally, again either by the ritual specialist or by the client(s). For example, in treating a number of ailments, the shaman blew or sprayed the medicine over the patient's entire body or just those parts affected (Mooney 1891; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932), usually by means of a blowing tube, made either from the stem of the thoroughwort (Eupatorium purpureum Linnaeus) plant (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:58,60-61, plate 7,h) or from a turkey thigh bone (Witthoft 1946b:378). One important decoction was the sacred black drink, or physic, a beverage made from the parched leaves and twigs of yaupon (Ilex vomitoria William Aiton) (Bartram 1853:23; Harper 1958:227,285,466; Hudson 1975:94, 1979; Williams 1927:101), a plant of the holly family (Aquifoliaceae) (Hudson 1979; Williams 1927:101), and was primarily used in purificatory rites. Thus, it was prepared both for participants in the Propitiation/ Cementation Festival (Butrick n.d.b:211-212,215; Payne n.d.:72-73,76; Williams 1927:100-101) and for warriors embarking upon an expedition (McClary 1962:356; Tucker 1969:194).

Another method widely practiced was bathing, or "going to water," which was an integral part of many ceremonial rites: prevention and/or treatment of disease; birth and mourning; hunting; warfare; the ball play; shaman and priesthood training; each new moon, especially the First New Moon of Spring and Great New Moon Festivals; eating the

new corn; and averting the consequences presaged by bad dreams. This ordeal might involve a person, group, or entire village, each accompanied by the ritual specialist (shaman or priest). The ablution was usually performed at sunrise along the bank of a running stream or river, and both the ritual specialist and the clients were required to fast the previous evening. The bathers immersed their entire body under the cold water ("plunging into the water") four or seven times or, in some cases, poured the water on their head and breast with their hands ("dipping up the water") while the shaman or priest sat on the side, reciting certain prayers to the "Long Man," or River god, on their behalf and, at times, divining and drawing omens by "examining with the beads" (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; De Vorsey 1971:107-108; Evans n.d.:14; Lanman 1849:414; Mooney 1890a:49, 1890b, 1891, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Payne n.d.).

Sweat baths were often prescribed in combination with the cold water plunge and were taken in the **osi** 'hothouse,' a low dome-shaped earth-covered building constructed of logs. Rocks were heated in the central fireplace and then raked out on the floor over which was poured a decoction prepared from the roots of the wild parsnip (Pastinaca sativa Linnaeus). This procedure was used in remedial situations; the patient remained in the **osi** until in a profuse perspiration and nearly choked by the pungent fumes of the decoction, at which time he/she performed the rite

of "going to water" (Fyffe 1761:7; Mooney 1891:333-334; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:61). For nontherapeutic purposes, such as the training of boys to be hunters, the sweat bath was carried out without the use of medicinal vapors (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:61). These boys remained in the sweat lodge until in a profuse perspiration, at which time they dipped seven times into the cold waters of a neighboring stream or river for purification (Butrick n.d.a).

Scratching, or scarification, was considered a surgical practice and was performed in the treatment of certain diseases, particularly rheumatism, and in the preparation of ball players for the game. This painful operation was usually conducted with a rattlesnake tooth, fish bone, gar tooth, flint arrowhead, brier (blackberry [Rubus spp.] or greenbrier [Smilax glauca Walter]), or laurel (Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus) or fetter-bush (Leucothoe catesbaei [Walter] Gray) leaves, according to the nature of the ailment or occasion; for ball players, however, the shaman generally used a comb-like device, consisting of seven teeth made from the sharpened splinters of a turkey wing or leg bone, which were set into a rectangular frame formed from a turkey quill. While the blood was freely flowing, the medicine was rubbed into the wound (Corkran 1969:16,17; De Baillou 1961:95; Harper 1958:319; Kilpatrick 1966:193; Mooney 1890a:48, 1890b:121-122, 1891:334-335, 1900a:296; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:

68-71,196,202-204,205-208,212-213, plate 7; Payne n.d.:55-56; Speck and Broom 1951:55,57; Williams 1930:417).

An additional surgical practice involved the use of a sucking horn. This was placed on the part to be operated, and the shaman eliminated the air by sucking at the bottom of this instrument, thereby creating a vacuum. The objective was to remove any foreign substances present within the patient's body. The sucking horn was used by the shaman in treating particular ailments, such as noticeable swellings from boils or toothaches (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:72-73, plate 7,g).

One final therapeutic technique was massage. It was frequently used for pains and swellings of the abdominal region and involved pressing and rubbing the affected part of the body with the palm or fingertips of the hand (Mooney 1891:335; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:62).

All the methods that have been thus described were always accompanied by fasting and/or specific restrictions or taboos (e.g., avoidance of particular foods or lack of contact with certain types of persons or animals). These had to be observed either by one or by both of the parties involved.

Sacrifice and Divination

Sacrifice and divination played an important role in practically all major Cherokee ceremonies, including religious festivals, the ball play, hunting, and warfare.

Sacrifice involved the presentation of a burnt offering, usually a piece of meat, e.g., the tongue or liver, to the spirit Fire (Butrick 1884:11-12, n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1953:23,24, 1955:35, 1956:30-31, 1969:12,13; Hicks in Swanton 1979:768; Mooney 1891:370,372; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:21; Payne n.d.; Williams 1930:112). Divination consisted of several different methods in which an active attempt was made to foretell future events or to discover hidden knowledge (Butrick 1884:12, n.d.a, n.d.b; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417,432-434; Mooney 1890b:125, 1891, 1900a:297,298,300,458-461, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Olbrechts 1930a; Payne n.d.; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250).

One common divinatory practice was stone-gazing; the most authoritative stone was the "divining crystal," or **Ulunsuti** 'transparent,' a quartz rock derived from the forehead of the mythical snake **Uktena** (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417; Mooney 1900a:297,458-459; Olbrechts 1930a:549; Payne n.d.; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250). It was employed at certain annual religious festivals and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases and was most frequently consulted for information regarding the general well-being of the people; according to the images appearing in the crystal, omens were read as to whether the upcoming year would be healthy or one marked by sickness and death. Other important matters for which the stone was inspected

included ascertaining success in hunting and warfare. On the latter occasion, the war priest examined the crystal a number of times: prior to war, to determine which individuals should serve as warriors and would return home safely as well as whether the outcome of the raid would be victorious; during the expedition, for instructions and guidance in devising the proper strategies for attacking the enemy; and after, to learn of the extent of the duration of the newly established peace (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Mooney 1900a:298,300,460-461; Olbrechts 1930a:549-550; Payne n.d.).

Another common procedure, "examining with the beads," was performed in connection with certain "going to water" ceremonies. The shaman or priest held a black bead--representing death, sickness, or calamity--between the thumb and index finger of the left hand, and a red or white one--signifying long life, health, happiness, or success --in the right. After the appropriate formula was recited, the two beads moved along the first two phalanges of the index fingers; the bead demonstrating the greater amount of vitality determined the outcome (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:432-434; Mooney 1890b:125, 1900b:6-10; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Olbrechts 1930a:548-549,550; Payne n.d.).

A divinatory ritual associated with the preceding one was only performed when "going to water" during the First New Moon of Spring and Great New Moon Festivals. The

participants were instructed to sit fronting the stream or river's edge while the priest recited a formula for long life. During the ceremony, if anything was seen on the water's surface, such as a bug, worm, fish, cluster of leaves, or twig, in front of a particular individual, this was a sign that the person either would be greatly distressed or would die; if nothing appeared, then all would be well (Butrick n.d.b:94; Olbrechts 1930a:549; Payne n.d.:53,63-64).

Another practice was employed only for the "yellow" (indigestion) in which the treatment consisted of drinking an emetic, followed by vomiting in the river. Signs of recovery or of death were indicated by whether the vomit floated or sunk, respectively (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:23,63; Olbrechts 1930a:550).

The tongue of the deer (usually a buck) and the flowers of the wild tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus) plant were sometimes used for sacrificial and/or divinatory purposes. The tongue was thrown into the fire as an offering and was sprinkled with flowers of wild tobacco. Omens regarding sickness and/or death were read based upon the manner in which the meat was consumed by the flames and/or the direction and number of times the meat popped. If the meat burned quietly so that the smoke rose directly upward and/or a few small fragments of meat were flung in an easterly direction, the year would be a healthy one; but if the smoke formed a bluish cloud resting over the fire and/or

pieces of meat darted westward, sickness would prevail. Moreover, the number of deaths that would occur was equivalent to the amount of times the meat popped (Butrick 1884:11,12, n.d.a, n.d.b; Hicks in Swanton 1979:768; Mooney 1891:370; Payne n.d.).

One divinatory ceremony that was sometimes performed in preparation for the hunt involved the use of wild tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus). Ashes from a hearth were piled into a heap over which were thrown several flowers of this plant. The presence of a flare indicated the likelihood of finding game, and the location on the ashes where the tobacco caught fire told the direction. In addition, the lapse of time between the act of dropping the plant and its catching fire provided a clue as to when the quarry would be found (e.g., same or next day). Moreover, the extent of the noise accompanying the burst of flame, loud or faint, signified whether large or small animals would be killed, respectively (Olbrechts 1930a:551).

Major Ceremonies

Rites of passage

Rites of passage were ceremonies that took place at critical points in an individual's life cycle. Such events consisted of three major phases: separation, relinquishing of one role; transition, a period of marginality and, at times, isolation; and incorporation, assuming a new social position or identity (Van Gennep 1960). Among the

Cherokee, the most important occasions requiring this recognition were birth, marriage, and death.

Birth and the associated process of naming represented the transition to human status. The ritual specialist held the infant at birth near the fire and, on the fourth or seventh day, took it to a stream or river and immersed it in cold water ("going to water"), on both occasions praying on its behalf for a long and happy life (Butrick n.d.b:81-82; Mooney 1900b:2; Williams 1927:90). By the age of four or five, children were being instructed and prepared for their life roles. Girls began to assist in domestic duties, such as cooking and making baskets and pottery, and boys learned how to make bows and arrows and blowguns with which they shot crickets, grasshoppers, and small birds and mammals (Kilpatrick 1966:193; Mooney 1900a:401; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:128-129; Williams 1927:71-72). Furthermore, young males destined for one of the sacred priesthood offices or for a hunting profession were required to go through special training and tutoring under the supervision of a priest (Butrick n.d.a:40-43, n.d.b:122-123; Payne n.d.:45-49).

Marriage symbolized an individual's entry into adulthood and was accompanied by little ceremony (Butrick n.d.b:80-81; Williams 1927:89), the chief rite being the exchange of venison and corn between the bride and groom (Malone 1956a:17; Tucker 1969:193; Williams 1930:147). Death was the ultimate transition and was associated with

certain mortuary practices. The corpse was buried in the house of the deceased or at a place of interment. All personal belongings, such as clothing and furniture, were destroyed either by burial with the body or by burning. The mourners were considered unclean and had to obey a four-day period of separation during which they were purified by emetics and by "going to water"; a sacrificial offering of meat and drawing of omens regarding death were performed on their behalf (Butrick n.d.a:35-37,82-85, n.d.b:63-64,77-78; Corkran 1969:26,27; Mooney 1900b:3-5; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:131-140; Williams 1927:90-91).

Women were obligated to go through several additional prescribed rites of passage, which, in turn, corresponded with the reproductive cycle--menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth. During such times, they were considered impure and polluted. They therefore had to remain in a state of temporary isolation from the rest of the community and were required to observe certain rules and avoidances, such as food taboos, as well as to undergo certain rituals, such as "going to water" and drinking of particular decoctions (Butrick n.d.a:81,85-86, n.d.b:78-79; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:118-128). Among Cherokee males, the attainment of war honors and new titles (higher rank) might be considered another transitional rite (Williams 1930:426-427).

Communal ceremonies

Many traditional ceremonies were large communal gatherings involving whole settlements and, at times,

the entire Cherokee Nation. Those most important were the annual festivals and feasts, the dances and dramas, and the ball play.

Festivals. The Cherokee celebrated a regular series of six major festivals during the course of the year. The annual cycle began with the Festival of the First New Moon of Spring, which took place in March when the grass began to grow. The Preliminary or New Green Corn Feast was held in August at the time the young corn first became fit to taste. The Mature or Ripe Green Corn Feast followed 40 or 50 days later in mid- or late September when the corn was hard and perfect, i.e., ripened. The Great New Moon Festival occurred at the first new moon of autumn in October; it marked the beginning of the Cherokee new year as it was believed that the world was created in that season. The Propitiation or Cementation Festival, or Physic Dance, followed 10 days later (end of October) and was a rite of purification associated with the making of new fire. The last of the annual festivals was the Festival of the Exulting or Bounding Bush, which was held in December and entailed the use of pine boughs (Bartram 1853:72-77; Butrick n.d.b; Corkran 1969:14-27; De Baillou 1961:97-99; De Vorsey 1971:112; Evans n.d.:21-22; Harper 1958:323-324; Hicks in Swanton 1979:771; Klinck and Talman 1970:70,73; Lanman in Swanton 1979:769-771; Mooney 1900a; Payne n.d.; Speck and Broom 1951:45-54; Williams 1927:88-89,100-101, 1928:474, 1930:101-117; Witthoft 1946c).

It is important to note that these annual festivals were celebrated somewhat differently at the national, town, and individual family levels. Moreover, it appears that several of these festivals may have been combined during the course of the time period under consideration in this study. As a consequence, it was difficult to compare the various descriptions and to determine which of these festivals was being described in each account. For example, the "Green Corn Festival," often mentioned in the literature, may have referred to either the Preliminary or the Mature Green Corn Feast, or to a combination of both; furthermore, the "Green Corn Festival" also appeared, according to several accounts, to incorporate certain elements of the Propitiation/Cementation Festival. Thus, because of the confusing nature of these early descriptions, any information pertaining to these festivals in subsequent sections of this chapter is presented as recorded in the various sources without injecting any further interpretation.

Several other kinds of festivals were observed. One important event was the **Uku** Dance, which occurred septennially, generally in the late summer or early fall (Butrick n.d.b:55-57,268-270; Payne n.d.:84-88). Moreover, there were regular minor local festivals celebrated at the beginning of each quarter of the year, each new moon, and every seven days (quarter month), and there were ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases such as smallpox, to request

rain in times of drought, and to pray for warm or cold weather (Butrick n.d.b; Hicks in Swanton 1979:768; Payne n.d.).

Dances. Cherokee dances, like the festivals of which they were often a part, were social rites and functioned to contribute to and reinforce the health and well-being, or social integration, of the entire community (Speck and Broom 1951:19). All performances were accompanied by singing and the playing of percussion musical instruments. Of the latter, the three principal ones used were a skin-covered clay or hollow wooden water drum, one or more gourd hand-rattles, and terrapin, or box turtle, shell leg-rattles, which were tied around the legs of women dancers (Butrick n.d.a:77, n.d.b:45,92,197,260; De Baillou 1961:97-99; Evans n.d.:15,17; Harper 1958:320; Kilpatrick 1966:193; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417,418; Klinck and Talman 1970:55,70; Mooney 1890b:116, 1900a:287; Payne n.d.:94,102; Speck and Broom 1951:20-22, plate XI,a; Williams 1930:101, 116,178). The dance gait was a simple alternating shuffle with the knees slightly bent and the body relaxed and inclined forward (Harper 1958:320-321; Speck and Broom 1951:24). In general, both men and women participated, but only the former were permitted to do the singing for the performers. A small number of dances, however, were restricted to one or the other sex. For example, the Women-Gathering-Wood Dance was done exclusively by women and the

Warrior (or Brave) and War (or Snake-Mask) Dances by young male warriors (Speck and Broom 1951).

The dances were usually held after sunset, with specific ones relegated to certain times during the course of the night hours. Moreover, some dances might be performed only in particular seasons of the year. The Booger (or Mask), Bear, and Eagle Dances were exclusively winter rites (November to March) (Speck and Broom 1951:11,25-45); for example, the performance of the Eagle Dance in the summer would make the snakes angry and vengeful as well as cause an early frost and destruction of crops (Mooney 1900a:281; Speck and Broom 1951:11,42; Witthoft 1946b:376). The Green Corn and Ball Players' Dances, on the other hand, were held during the summer and early fall (Speck and Broom 1951:11,45-62). Some of these dances, such as the Booger Dance, were quite extensive, consisting of a number of acts, and were thus more like dramatic productions (Speck and Broom 1951:25-39).

A number of dances were animal rites that were usually named after particular fauna and that were performed throughout the year. Examples included the Pissant, Knee-Deep (or Spring Frog), Beaver, Groundhog, Partridge, and Pigeon Dances. Most of these were pantomimes of the characteristic behavior of the animal and, at times, of the hunter and were generally performed for the purpose of amusement, social relaxation, and friendship (Corkran

1969:24,25; Evans n.d.; Klinck and Talman 1970:70; Mooney 1900a; Speck and Broom 1951; Williams 1927:102-103).

Ball play. The ball play, another important social rite, was a lacrosse-type game in which the most athletic young men of one town played against those from another town. The game was usually played during the period from midsummer through late fall, though the most favorite time for its occurrence was in the autumn after the corn crop had been harvested and plenty of leisure time was available.

The members of each team underwent a rigorous course of training and preparation. This included the observance of certain taboos (prohibition of sexual intercourse and of consumption of particular foods), periods of fasting, scarification with a turkey bone scratcher, "going to water," and divination ceremonies with beads, all of which were carried out under the direction of a shaman. Also, there was the performance of the Ball Players' Dance the night before the game.

The game was played with a small ball of deer or squirrel skin stuffed with deer's hair and pairs of netted ball sticks, or racquets. The objective was to throw the ball between the goal posts or to strike one of these with the ball. A score of 12 was needed to win the game. Heavy betting generally occurred between supporters of the competing teams. Descriptions of the Cherokee ball play and its associated ritual procedures have been presented in a number of accounts (Butrick n.d.b:50-54,254-259; Evans

n.d.:10-14; Fogelson 1971; Harper 1958:233-234,322-323; Herndon 1971; Hudson 1976:408-421, 1984:9-10; Kilpatrick 1966:193; Klinck and Talman 1970:53-54,63-65,78-79; Lanman 1849:413-416; Louis-Philippe 1977:91-94; Mooney 1885:188,191, 1890b, 1891:334-335,395-397, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:68-69, plate 7,d,i; Speck and Broom 1951:55-62; Swanton 1979:674-682; Williams 1927:102, 1928:437, 1930:428-430).

It is important to note that the ceremonial preparations (e.g., separation of the young men from the rest of the community and purification), the physical qualities (e.g., speed, stamina, and strength), as well as the manner in which the game was played (quite rough with injuries frequently occurring) were analogous to those occurring in times of war. Indeed, one of the names for the ball play was **dahnawa usdi** 'little war' (Fogelson 1971:330; Hudson 1976:411, 1984:10).

Another important popular pastime was the chunkey game. Like the ball play, it consisted solely of male participants, but, in this event, they belonged to the same town. The implements employed were a wheel-shaped disk made of polished stone and a number of poles that were approximately 10 feet (3.0 m) in length. Two men at a time competed against each other in the game: One rolled the stone onto the "chunkey yard" along the ground, and then both players cast their sticks toward the approximate area of the stone's final resting spot. The number of points

scored depended upon the proximity of the disk to the various markings on the pole (Bartram 1853:34-36,52-53; Harper 1958:330-331; Hudson 1976:421-425, 1984:9; Mooney 1900a:434; Swanton 1979:682-683; Williams 1927:99-100, 1930:430-431).

Hunting

Certain procedures and apparatus were essential in the hunting of wild game. Young men intending to pursue such a livelihood were prepared by a priest, who conducted them, over a period of four years, through a rigorous course of training that included the following: drinking emetics, taking sweat baths, "going to water," sacrificial offering of and subsequent divination with a buck's tongue, divination with the **Ulunsuti**, and separation from women (Butrick n.d.a:43, n.d.b:122-123). Once hunters, they were obliged to perform these same rituals before, after, and during every hunting expedition. Also, they had to abstain from food and, at times, used tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus), rather than a buck's tongue, for divination purposes (see Sacrifice and Divination). Furthermore, although they were allowed to marry after training, they were required, like warriors, to observe a taboo against sexual intercourse during expeditions. The Hunters' Feast and Hunting Dance were held in September to prepare them for the hunting season and in March to purify them afterwards (Butrick 1884:11-12, n.d.a:43-47, n.d.b:123-124; Mooney 1891:370-371,372; Olbrechts 1930a:551).

The equipment for the chase consisted of decoy masks generally fabricated out of wood and ornamented with pieces of fur; decoy calls usually made of plant or animal bone material; and sometimes the skin of the animal being pursued, which clothed the hunter's back, thereby serving as an additional disguise (Speck and Broom 1951:28,85-86,91-92, plate VIII,IX; Witthoft 1946b:378). Also, certain formulas had to be recited or sung in order to attract the game and ensure a successful hunt (Davis 1910:43,48; Mooney 1888:98, 1891:369-375, 1900a:248,282,320,326-327,435; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:153; Speck and Broom 1951:13-18,86-96; Witthoft 1946b:376,377) as well as to placate and obtain pardon from the animal spirits (Mooney 1900a; Speck and Broom 1951:95-96).

Civil/military affairs

A number of customs were associated with political and military affairs. Eighteenth-century Cherokee society was under a dual form of government consisting of a White organization in times of peace for regulating domestic affairs and a Red one that took control during war periods. In the former administration, the principal national officers included the following: the high priest **Uku**; his right-hand man; seven prime councilors representing the seven clans; Beloved Men or council of elders; chief speaker; and messengers, one for each town priest. The leaders of the war structure generally tended to be younger than their peace counterparts: the great war chief, or

Kolana 'Raven'; his right-hand man; seven war councilors, representing the seven clans, to order the war; "Beloved Woman," who had a voice in council, prepared the sacred black drink, or physic, for the warriors, and determined the fate of captives; great war speaker; standard bearer, or flag carrier; chief surgeon; war priest; messengers; and three war scouts, or spies, called the Wolf, Fox, and Owl. These individuals were distinguished by their particular attire and by certain paraphernalia that they carried in performing their official duties (Bartram 1853:23-24; Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1956, 1969; De Vorsey 1971; Grant 1909; Harper 1958:313-315; McClary 1962; Payne n.d.; Tucker 1969; Williams 1927, 1928, 1930).

Warfare was conducted under a set of prescribed procedures. In preparation for military service, the warriors assembled under the command of the great war chief, whereupon they performed the war dance, raised the war whoop, fasted, and prayed; they were purified by drinking emetics and by "going to water." Other ritual practices included the sacrificial offering of a deer's tongue and divination with this tongue as well as with beads and with the "divining crystal" in order to determine the prospect of success or failure. These rites were carried out by the red war priest selected to accompany the warriors, who, during the actual campaign, was in charge both of carrying the sacred fire and of repeatedly consulting the divining stone for guidance in directing the movements of the army.

After the termination of the war, the warriors still remained in isolation from their families until the necessary purifications, drinking emetics and "going to water," were completed, at which time they could return to civilian life. It should be noted that, throughout the war, from the time they enlisted until discharged, the warriors were in a state of separation and were required to observe a taboo against sexual intercourse (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1969:44-47; Fyffe 1761:8-12; Olbrechts 1930a:549-550; Williams 1930).

A number of political ceremonies were held in times of peace. These included the consecration of the high priest **Uku**, welcoming of foreign dignitaries, negotiation of peace treaties, and confirmation and/or renewal of friendships (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Cheves 1894:329,332; Corkran 1962:267-270; Fyffe 1761:6; Grant 1909:55; Hamer 1931:110-111; Hicks in Swanton 1979:772; Klinck and Talman 1970:72-73; McDowell 1958:491, 1970; Mereness 1916:101,110; Mooney 1900a:368,453,488; Public Record Office 1725, 1730; Speck and Broom 1951:39-44; Williams 1927:59-61,63-65,103, 1928:97,122-143, 1930:32,176-177; Witthoft 1946b:376).

Animals in Cherokee Ideology and Ritual

This section entails a presentation of individual accounts of the various fauna. These descriptions are arranged according to the World--Under, Middle or This, or Upper--with which each animal was generally associated.

The Under World

The Under World was primarily inhabited by water-dwelling animals. These included "fish" invertebrates, fish, herpetofauna (amphibians and reptiles), and several kinds of mammals (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:13).

Invertebrates--"fish" invertebrates

"Fish" invertebrates (molluscs and crustaceans) appeared in several recorded oral traditions. According to one version of genesis, the crayfish (or crawfish) **jisdvna** was sent by the "great god" to form the island earth out of dirt (Corkran 1956:28, 1969:26,27) (see Water Beetle). In another account of the same tale, the shell of the Red Crayfish (or Crawfish) **jisgagili** obtained its characteristic red color from the greater intensity of the sun's light present at the time of the earth's initial creation; as a consequence, its meat was spoiled and therefore never allowed to be eaten (Davis 1910:27; Mooney 1900a:239). The common crayfish, on the other hand, could be consumed by most Cherokee (Grant 1975:246; Ulmer and

Beck 1951:54); it was tabooed only to pregnant women because of its habit of running backward, which might encourage the fetus to refrain from descending at the time of delivery (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120).

Several nonfood uses of these animals were mentioned. The shell of the freshwater mussel **dagvna** served as a knife in the **Dagwa** myth (Kilpatrick 1966:187; Mooney 1900a:320-321) (see Mythical Fish) and, in another story, was changed by magical means into a canoe (Mooney 1900a:394). The pincers (claws) of the red crayfish were lightly scratched on children's hands so as to provide them with a strong grip (Mooney 1900a:308). The shell of certain marine molluscs served as raw material for the manufacture of wampum beads; these were strung into belts, which were worn as part of the ritual attire at particular ceremonies (Harper 1958:234,661; McDowell 1970:125), or were threaded onto strings, which ornamented the long wooden stems of Cherokee stone pipes (Harper 1958:222,661). More importantly, however, wampum beads were presented as a pledge of sincerity and good faith in the welcoming of foreign dignitaries, negotiation of peace treaties, and confirmation and/or renewal of friendships (Corkran 1962:269; Fyffe 1761:6; Klinck and Talman 1970:72,73; McDowell 1970; Mooney 1900a:368,488; Public Record Office 1730; Williams 1927:66,103, 1928:141).

Fish

Fish **ajaldi** constituted a relatively minor element in recorded oral traditions. The mythical monster fish **Dagwa** was regarded as the father of all fish (Mooney 1900a:307) and, as in the Biblical story of Jonah, once swallowed a boy, or man, who afterward was able to escape (Kilpatrick 1966:187; Mooney 1900a:320-321,469-470). One cosmogonic myth, however, asserted that all fish and frogs originated from a great monster fish and frog, both of which were killed and subsequently cut into small pieces that were thrown back in the water; their descendants are today's diminutive fishes and frogs (Mooney 1900a:260) (see Toads/frogs).

Fish lore was most frequently associated with medicinal beliefs and practices. Dreams of fish or of consuming raw or decaying fish were symptoms of a sickness attributed to vengeful fish ghosts (really indigestion), and the shaman attempted to implement a cure by invoking some large fish or fish-eating bird to drive out the demon (Mooney 1900a:251,307; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:35,36,177). Fish were also considered the cause of "hot" (fever attacks) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:241-243). On the other hand, the cold-blooded nature of fish and other lower vertebrates (turtles and snakes) constituted an important principle in certain medicinal formulas: The spirit Fire was petitioned in curing diseases, e.g., "black yellowness" (a severe digestive disorder) (Mooney 1891:366), ascribed to these

creatures since they could not tolerate heat (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:21,252).

The consumption of fish was forbidden to individuals suffering from particular ailments. A person with a severe case of diarrhea had to abstain from eating fish and chicken as the loose feces of these animals suggested that they were chronically troubled with this problem (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:65,281-283). Rheumatic patients were forbidden to consume the following fish: sun perch **agola** and drumfish/buffalo fish **gasadi**, for their rounded backs (cramped position) similar to that of the afflicted person (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:293,294); mountain, or speckled, trout **adaja**, also for its shape or movement (Mooney 1891:349-351; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:293,294); and the hornyhead fish **ugvsdelli**, or **jugi-juyhvsdi**, for its tendency to rapidly decay (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:182,293). The hornyhead fish was also prohibited to victims of one of the varieties of "yellow" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:182).

Other members of Cherokee society also observed fish taboos. Women might not eat mountain, or speckled, trout during pregnancy to avoid excessive bleeding at delivery as well as unwanted facial birthmarks on the child (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120); after parturition, all fish were forbidden since their cold-blooded nature would chill and clot the blood still to be expelled from the mother's body (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:127). The hog sucker **daloge**,

characterized as a sluggish fish, was prohibited to hall players, who must necessarily be swift (Mooney 1890b:110, 1900a:308). Furthermore, according to one source, all Cherokee must refrain from eating eel **tlvdegwa**, catfish **julisdanali** and **usgwohli egwa** (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241), and gar **kawonu kayvsoli** (Butrick n.d.a:87).

Fish also served as healing agents for a number of illnesses. The Blue Catfish **julisdanali** and Redhorse Fish **oliga** were called upon for a hreathing disorder (diphtheria) caused by water insects **tsgoya** ("insects living in the water") and described as a clogging up of the throat passages (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:260-262). A minnow **amakta** that was yellow in color collaborated with the Killdeer to effect a cure for one form of the "yellow" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:180-182).

Several specific fish were mentioned in the mythology. The hornyhead fish appeared only in the spring and was noted for having horns, or projections, on its nose and red spots on its head and for piling stones in the water (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:441; Mooney 1900a:307). Its bright red coloring faded after the spawning season, at which time, according to the Cherokee, it changed into a bloody-mouth lizard **giga-juholi** (Mooney 1900a:307-308) (see Bloody-Mouth Lizard). The darter **dugalvina**, because of its long nose, was used by the Kingfisher as a lance for killing a Blacksnake (Mooney 1900a:289,455) (see Kingfisher). The redhorse fish was believed to transform

itself into a scissor-tailed flycatcher **judigwanujugi** as both possessed red spots and long forked tails (Mooney 1900a:285) (see Scissor-Tailed Flycatcher).

Certain beliefs and practices accompanied fishing. The Blue Catfish was addressed in a sacred formula that was recited to ensure success in catching large fish (Mooney 1891:374-375). The observation, while fishing, of a fish dying in the water was an omen that one of that person's relatives would die (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:133).

Fish parts were essential for the performance of a number of rituals. Fish bones or gar teeth were employed in scratching ceremonies (Corkran 1969:16,17; De Baillou 1961:95; Payne n.d.:55-56; Williams 1930:417), which were sometimes conducted at certain annual religious festivals (Corkran 1969:16,17; De Baillou 1961:95; Payne n.d.:55-56). Eel skins were used both by ball players, who rubbed themselves in order to be slippery and impossible to hold (Mooney 1890b:124, 1900a:308), and by women, who tied up their hair with dried skins to make it grow long (Kilpatrick 1966:191; Mooney 1900a:308). Furthermore, oil was fried out of the supple eel and served as a medicinal treatment for rheumatism and stiff joints (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:56,57,196).

Herpetofauna

Toads/frogs. Toads and frogs were regarded as relatively weak and unimportant little animals (Mooney 1891:352). They were descended from a great monster frog

(Mooney 1900a:260) (see Fish) or from the Little Person (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:390-391), both of which were killed and subsequently cut into small pieces that were thrown back in the water (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:390-391; Mooney 1900a:260). A solar eclipse was attributed to a great frog striving to swallow the sun; at such an event, certain strategies (shouting and gun firing) were employed to scare away the culprit (Corkran 1969:38,39; Mooney 1900a:257,306,441).

The bullfrog **kanuna** was the central character in two animal myths. The first was an amusing story of a bullfrog (or, in another version, a tadpole **digiji**) that changed into a man and married a young woman whose family strongly disapproved of him (Mooney 1900a:310-311,463). The second explained the origin of the yellow stripes on its head and consisted of two versions: one involving mutation by vengeance, whereby the Bullfrog was scratched by the mythical gambler Brass; and the other entailing mutation by design, whereby the Bullfrog requested a conjuror to paint stripes on his head so as to be more appealing to a woman he was courting (Mooney 1900a:310).

The common frog **tehga** was associated with several medicinal sacred formulas. This animal, along with the Chat, both yellowish in color, was considered the cause of "eaters," a urinary or kidney disease (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:178-180) (see Yellow-Breasted Chat). On the other hand, it was called upon to cure "throat" (diphtheria) by

devouring insects/worms **tsgoya**, its natural food, which were held responsible for the sickness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:254-255).

The toad **walosi** acquired its "sores," or warts, by being kicked and trampled upon by humans (Mooney 1900a:251). As in white folklore, it was believed that the handling of this amphibian could cause warts (Mooney 1900a:306). The toad was used as a scapegoat and, in one sacred formula, for example, was blamed for causing a rattlesnake bite so as not to offend the real culprit (Mooney 1891:351-353) (see Snake).

The spring frog, or spring peeper, **dusdu** was associated with a popular dance. The Knee-Deep (or Spring Frog) Dance was performed for recreational and social purposes (Speck and Broom 1951:76).

The consumption of frog meat was generally permissible. It was forbidden, however, to individuals training for the ball play in the belief that the brittleness of the frog's bones would be transmitted to those of the player (Mooney 1890b:110, 1891:349, 1900a:306). Furthermore, the meat of a certain type of frog **gwalga** was tabooed to the great war speaker (Butrick n.d.b:241).

Salamanders/lizards. Salamanders and lizards were endowed with certain unique behavioral characteristics. Among the former animals, the spring **duweka** and the rainmaker **dagahnda** lizards (salamanders) were noted for

their ability to cause rain (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:307, 514); moreover, the meat of the spring lizard was forbidden to the great war speaker (Butrick n.d.b:241). The water dog, or mud puppy, **juwa**, a very large salamander, was never (Butrick n.d.a:87) or seldom (Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:307) eaten. According to the latter source, its consumption by an individual immediately prior to going into the field would cause crop failure (Mooney 1900a:307).

Several lizards were also mentioned. The bloody-mouth lizard **giga-juholi** was a transformed hornyhead fish **ugvsdelli**, or **jugi-juyhvsdi** (see Hornyhead Fish), as evidenced by their similar bright red coloring and the fact that the fish disappeared, i.e., lost its hue, at approximately the time the lizard came out. It was believed to be sucking the blood of its victim whenever it approached an individual and puffed out its throat so that its head assumed a bright red color and thus was feared and avoided (Mooney 1900a:306-307). The scorpion lizard **jonena**, or **giga-danegisgi**, was also a bloodsucker, and if its heart was consumed by a dog, the latter animal would always have its nutrient requirements whether it ate or not (Mooney 1900a:307). The fence lizard **tivohalli** was noted for its manner of alternately puffing out and drawing in its throat when basking in the sun and hence was implored to cure an actual snakebite by sucking out the poison (Mooney 1900a:306; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:240-241). Furthermore, if an individual seized the first one

seen in the spring and scratched his/her legs downward with its claws, that person would not encounter any dangerous snakes for the duration of the summer (Mooney 1900a:306). The "sleep lizard" was somewhat larger than the fence lizard. The act of rubbing it over the head and throat of an infant ensured that the child would always sleep well (Mooney 1900a:306).

Turtles. Water-dwelling turtles played a role in only a few myths and sacred formulas. According to one version of genesis, the Creator placed mud over the back of a turtle, which, in turn, grew larger until it became a big island, i.e., earth (Kilpatrick 1966:187).

The Water Turtle **saligugi** occurred as an actor in one myth in which it beat the Rabbit in a race (Speck 1927:111-112). In most stories, however, it was associated with the Under World where it often served as a seat (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:416; Mooney 1900a:343,346,481,482) or a saddle (Mooney 1900a:346). Although the Water Turtle was considered a slow and clumsy animal (Mooney 1890b:127, 1891:395-397), it was feared as a result of its cousin relationship to the dreaded Terrapin (Mooney 1891:365,366). Furthermore, these two turtles were the cause of "black yellowness" (a severe digestive disorder) (Mooney 1891:365,366).

A large turtle, probably the softshell **ulanawa**, or **klanawa**, was the subject of one local legend. In former times, it used to live at the junction of the Valley and

Hiwassee Rivers in Murphy, North Carolina, where it was often seen basking in the sun. Although it was a harmless and inoffensive creature, many attempts were made to destroy it, and thus it finally burrowed its way into the middle of the earth where it has lived ever since (Lanman 1849:382) (see Leech).

Snakes. Snakes **inada** constituted an integral part of Cherokee beliefs and rituals. They not only were the most powerful animals of the Under World but also maintained some control over animals as well as plants of the other realms. They were allies of the deer and the ginseng (Panax quinquefolium Linnaeus), a medicinal plant (Mooney 1891:326-327), and any harm to one of them was avenged by all three (Mooney 1900a:294,296) (see Deer). In the Under World, snakes were closely associated with the god of Thunder and his two sons, the Thunder Boys, or Little Men, as indicated by several wonder stories (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:392-393; Mooney 1900a:294,312-313,346,465,481) and sacred formulas (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:175-178,196-198).

Snakes were regarded with both fear and veneration, and strict measures were followed so as to prevent offending or physically harming them. Hence, the Eagle and Town House Dances were performed only in late autumn and winter when the snakes were hibernating in their dens because the songs would anger them and they would display their displeasure

(Mooney 1900a:281,295; Speck and Broom 1951:42; Witthoft 1946b:376). Hunters recited prayers (Mooney 1900a:294-295) and waved their moccasins and leggings over fire (Payne n.d.:26) to reduce the risk of potential contact.

Dreams of snakes were symptoms of a sickness attributed to vengeful snake ghosts (really indigestion) (Mooney 1900a:251; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:196-198), and the Two Little Men were implored to remove the disease spirit (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:196-198). The cure entailed the use of an emetic that consisted of bulrush (Scirpus validus Vahl), common or soft rush (Juncus effusus Linnaeus), crown vetch (Coronilla varia Linnaeus), vetch (Vicia caroliniana Walter), and the inner bark of poison ivy (Rhus radicans Linnaeus) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:198).

Snakebite dreams were also ascribed to snake ghosts (indigestion) (Mooney 1900a:295; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:175-178), and again the Two Little Men were invoked. The shaman prepared a medicinal decoction from the root of a rattlesnake fern (Botrychium virginianum [Linnaeus] Swartz) or a tulip tree (Liriodendron tulipifera Linnaeus), which he rubbed and blew on the wound; the patient drank a small amount of this syrup to induce vomiting, thereby relieving the stomach (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:175-178). Real snakebites, on the other hand, were attributed to weak insignificant creatures (see Toad) in order to belittle the seriousness of the ailment (Mooney 1891:

351-353). Furthermore, victims usually stated that they had been "scratched by a brier" so as to avoid offending the snake (Mooney 1891:352, 1900a:295; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:177). The treatment entailed applying tobacco juice to the wound and sucking out the poison (Mooney 1890a:47, 1891:351-353; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:241) and, at times, invoking the Lizard and mythical Fawn Imitator (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:240-241), or the Raven (Butrick n.d.b:333).

Several other plants were also used to offset the ill effects of any encounters with snakes. Hunters and warriors typically carried in their "shot-pouch" pieces of certain plants, such as Seneca snakeroot (Polygala senega Linnaeus), horehound (Marrubium vulgare Linnaeus), wild plaintain (Plantago spp.), and St. Andrew's cross (Hypericum hypericoides [Linnaeus] Crantz), to remedy any snakebites incurred while on an expedition (Williams 1930:247-248). Chewed linn (basswood [Tilia spp.]) bark as well as starry campion (Silene stellata [Linnaeus] William Townsend Aiton), or "rattlesnake's master," also served as medicine for snakebites. Moreover, it was believed that a snake would flee from any hunter who carried a small portion of the root of the starry campion plant in his mouth (Mooney 1900a:295,426).

The rattlesnake **ujonati** was the leader of the snakes (Mooney 1900a:295) and thus epitomized the animals of the Under World (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:14). Originally a man, it was later transformed into its present reptilian state

by the sons of Thunder, the Thunder Boys, to destroy the Sun and thereby save the human race from extermination (Davis 1910:30, 1937:34; Mooney 1900a:253,295). It was alluded to as "the Thunder's necklace" because this god adorned his neck with rattlesnakes (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:393; Mooney 1900a:295,313; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:198).

Due to its great power, the rattlesnake was dreaded as well as revered (Mooney 1900a:295,463; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:177). It was most notorious for causing snakebites (Mooney 1891:351-353), and the mere act of seeing one could cause that individual's eyes to be intolerably sensitive to the sun's rays or to a blazing fire (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:184-185). The killing of a rattlesnake was generally avoided except under emergency conditions. In committing such an act, one was required to recite the proper prayers for obtaining pardon, as a means of placating the snake ghost, so that the relatives of the deceased animal would not seek revenge (Mooney 1900a:295,305-306).

The rattlesnake played an important symbolic role in the ball play and in the War (or Snake-Mask) Dance, a rite performed before war expeditions. In this dance, the warriors wore a wooden mask having a coiled rattlesnake carved on its forehead or crown; this image dramatized their fearlessness and defiance of enemies (Speck and Broom 1951:62,63). In preparation for the ball play, the shaman

took the contestants to water and prayed to the Rattlesnake for a victory in the game (Mooney 1890b:126).

The rattlesnake itself was employed in a number of rituals. While alive, it was used for divination purposes; a person trained for holy office would perform particular handling maneuvers so as to determine personal longevity (Butrick n.d.a:59). Furthermore, certain anatomical parts were essential components of Cherokee materia medica, or pharmacopoeia, and the shaman, according to special ceremonial practices, would kill one for this purpose (Mooney 1900a:295).

The tooth served as an implement for scratching, or scarification, i.e., bleeding, an operation preliminary to applying medicine in the treatment of certain illnesses (Mooney 1890a:48, 1890b:122, 1891:334, 1900a:296; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:70,202-204,212-213), and, at times, in the preparation of ball players for the game (Kilpatrick 1966:193; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:70; Speck and Broom 1951:55). Ball players wore its rattles on their head and consumed its flesh to render themselves more terrifying to their adversaries (Mooney 1890b:122,124, 1900a:296). Rattles were also sometimes placed in gourds, which thus served as musical instruments to accompany certain dance songs (Speck and Broom 1951:21-22). Oil was extracted out of fat taken from the snake's lower body and was used as a remedy for rheumatism and sore joints (Mooney 1900a:296). Furthermore, in times of epidemic, a roasted rattlesnake

was hung in each household; the father would chew a piece and then mix it with water, which he would spit upon the bodies of the other family members, thereby ensuring protection from the disease (Mooney 1900a:296).

In addition to the rattlesnake, three other serpents were also originally human beings that were metamorphosed to undertake the task of destroying the Sun. The Spreading Adder **daliksda**, or **kwandayoha**, and the Copperhead **wodige askoli**, or **juktajisdahli**, were both greatly disliked for failing in their mission (Mooney 1900a:296,297). The former, although harmless, had a disgusting habit of vomiting yellow slime (Davis 1910:29, 1937:34; Mooney 1885:124, 1900a:252,297,438,514; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:301). The Copperhead, on the other hand, has a poisonous bite and was feared accordingly (Mooney 1900a:296); it served as bracelets for the Thunder's wrists and ankles (Mooney 1900a:313; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:198).

The fourth transformation resulted in the creation of the great mythical horned snake **Uktena**. It was also unsuccessful in fulfilling its assignment and, as a consequence, became so angry and dangerous that the people, living in dreaded fear, had it taken away (Davis 1910:30; Mooney 1900a:253,297). Nevertheless, the **Uktena** left behind replicas of itself, which now inhabit deep pools of water and high mountain passes in the Cherokee country (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:436; Mooney 1900a:297,304).

The **Uktena** was described as a very large monster snake with deer antlers on its head and rings or spots of color along its entire scaly body (Mooney 1900a:253,297,304). On its forehead was a blazing transparent diamond-like crest (Mooney 1900a:297,459,541; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250). The light emitted was so intense that any person seen by the **Uktena** became too dazed to escape (Mooney 1900a:297,459; Williams 1930:250). Even the mere sight of this creature was an omen of death to the observer (Kilpatrick 1966:186-187) or other members of that individual's family (Butrick n.d.a:57; Mooney 1900a:298) or of a tribal catastrophe if viewed by several persons (Kilpatrick 1966:187; Mooney 1900a:297).

In the Under World, the **Uktena** frequently served as the "horse" of the god of Thunder (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:392-393; Mooney 1900a:346). It was a mortal enemy of the mythical hawk **Sanuwa** of the Upper World; in one story, it helped in killing several young **Sanuwa** and, as a consequence, was torn into pieces by the fledglings' parents (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:437-438; Mooney 1900a:315-316).

Certain parts of the **Uktena** were considered very sacred and were essential components of the ritual specialist's apparatus. The diamond-like crest, when detached from the **Uktena**'s head, was called **Ulunsuti** 'transparent' (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417; Mooney 1900a:297,459; Olbrechts 1930a:549; Payne n.d.:40). It

served as a talisman, or "divining crystal" (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Mooney 1900a:458-459; Payne n.d.; Williams 1927:74-75, 1930:92,250) and was often consulted for information regarding the general well-being of the people in the upcoming year and as a means of ascertaining success in hunting and warfare (Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Mooney 1900a:298,300,460-461; Olbrechts 1930a:549-550; Payne n.d.). When not being used, it was wrapped in a deer skin and placed in an earthen jar, which was concealed in a secret mountain cave (Mooney 1900a:298,460). Individual scales of the **Uktena** and the tip of its branching horn were also very powerful medicine (Davis 1909; Mooney 1900a:301,394,396,460).

In addition to the **Uktena**, two other apocryphal snakes played a role in recorded oral traditions. The bouncer snake **uwĭjvda** was described as an immense creature that moved by jerks like a measuring-worm and once lived in Macon County, North Carolina (Mooney 1900a:303-304,544). The foot snake **usdadli**, or fawn imitator **agina ahyelisgi**, possessed peculiar feet, or "suckers" (Mooney 1900a:302,462,543), and also moved by strides or jerks like a measuring-worm (Mooney 1900a:302). It had the habit of imitating the bleat of a fawn so as to capture and prey upon its mother (Mooney 1900a:302; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:240-241). It was invoked, along with the Lizard, to suck out the poison from a real snakebite (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:240-241).

A number of additional snakes (nonimaginary) were mentioned. The black racer **uksuhti** and the blacksnake, or climber, **gallegi** acquired their color in their futile attempt to obtain the first fire, which had been sent to earth by the Thunder gods and placed in the bottom of a hollow sycamore tree on a nearby island (Davis 1910:27-28, 1937:29-30; Mooney 1900a:240-241). Moreover, it was believed that if the body of a blacksnake was hung upon a tree, it would bring rain within three or four days (Mooney 1900a:296). The water snake **kanegwodi**, or **vdadi**, was regarded as a sly creature and was implored in the treatment of a "simulator" illness manifested by sudden shifting pains attributed to an object implanted in the victim's body (witchcraft) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:256-257); this snake was not consumed (Butrick n.d.a:87).

Different kinds of snakes served as causative, preventive, or curative agents for the same sickness. A festering boil might be the result of a bite from some disease snake, which, in turn, was driven out by invoking more powerful serpents such as the Spreading Adder and Rattlesnake (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:300-301). Dreams about the Copperhead or Rattlesnake could cause body swelling and cancer as well as toothaches (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:36). Toothaches, however, could be prevented and sound teeth maintained by biting the body of a blacksnake or greensnake **selagwoya** (Mooney 1900a:296-297; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:76-77).

A few final notes of interest regarding herpetofauna were mentioned. Effigy figures of lizards, or salamanders, were occasionally sculptured on Cherokee stone pipes (Witthoft 1949:47,52, plate IV), and snake skins were sometimes used as ornamental coverings for the attached long wooden stems (Harper 1958:222,629). In certain ceremonial dances, the performers interlocked hands and formed a number of circles in order to represent the coils of a serpent (Evans n.d.:16; Klinck and Talman 1970:55). Furthermore, the snake, turtle, and lizard were emblems for the three major divisions of the Cherokee tribe; each of these animals was painted in black on one of three wooden ceremonial shields hanging within the town house described at one Overhill Cherokee town (Louis-Philippe 1977:86; Williams 1928:437).

Mammals

Two mammals, the beaver **doya** and otter **jiya**, are aquatic animals and were therefore associated with the Under World. The former lived in lodges or burrows along or in river banks (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:424-425; Mooney 1900a:399,400). Because of its ability to gnaw into hard wood (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:397; Mooney 1900a:266,314; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:309), the Beaver was invoked by a young child whose deciduous tooth had come out and was being replaced by a permanent one; the child recited a certain formula four times while running around the house and then threw the loosened milk tooth upon or

over the roof (Mooney 1900a:266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:308-309). The Beaver was also called upon in a nonmedicinal prayer used when "going to water" to avert the consequences presaged by such bad dreams as falling from a cliff or drowning in a river (Mooney 1900b:9-10; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:302-305). The Beaver Dance was a pantomime enacting a beaver-hunting excursion of a hunter and his wife. A stuffed beaver skin (beaver effigy) was placed in the center of the circle. The men and women dancers formed couples, representing the hunter and his wife, and each, in turn, endeavored to strike the skin (which was being constantly jerked about) with a stick (beaver club or gun). Their unsuccessful attempts were a source of amusement to the audience (Evans n.d.:18; Speck and Broom 1951:69-71).

The otter usually dens in banks along creeks, streams, and lake borders. Its beautiful coat of dark brown fur was, at one time, stolen by the envious Rabbit in order to win a council contest for having the finest garment. While camping on the way to the council, the Rabbit threw hot coals upon the sleeping Otter; the latter awoke and, to avoid being burned, jumped into a nearby river, which has since become its permanent residence. The Rabbit, in turn, took the Otter's coat hanging from a limb and wore it to the council (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:405-406; Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:267-268). Interestingly enough, no mention was ever made regarding how the Otter recovered its

fine coat (Mooney 1900a:449). One additional story involved these two animals. The Otter, who feeds primarily upon fish and, at times, waterfowl, challenged the Rabbit at duck hunting (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:410; Mooney 1900a:266-267). (See Rabbit.)

In the medicinal sacred formulas, the otter was referred to as the chief of the "penetrators" (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:267) and was most often grouped with the weasel and mink because of their similar physical appearance (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:271), i.e., long slender bodies and short legs, in addition to their ability to seize and hold their prey (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:267). They were invoked, along with other "penetrators" such as the Fish Hawk and Kingfisher, for removing "pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy) caused by a magically placed object in the victim's body (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:265-267) and, with the Kingfisher or Leech, for treating "breast aches" implanted by a ghost (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:269-271). In several other formulas, the Otter was called upon for curing a "simulator" disease, manifested by shifting pains attributed to an object implanted in the victim's body (witchcraft) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:215-217), and "pains in different places" (rheumatism or pleurisy) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:235-236) and, along with the Wolf and Buzzard, for healing a cut in the flesh (Butrick n.d.b:333). Furthermore, the Otter was regarded as a wary

and cunning creature, and its watchful prudence was implied in a formula, whereby it was addressed in curing a kind of "navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:182-184). The Otter was also mentioned in one nonmedicinal prayer recited during a rain ceremony performed in times of drought (Payne n.d.:122).

Otter skins constituted a part of the ceremonial dress of certain individuals of high status and/or power. The "King,"[3] at his inauguration, had a cap, or crown, made of its hide and embellished with white crane feathers (Butrick n.d.b:57) (cf. Opossum and Raccoon). The great war chief wore, as a badge of distinction, a band of otter skin about his head, arms, and legs (Butrick n.d.b:174-175), and warriors, when being crowned and awarded a new title (higher rank), tied an otter skin on each leg (Williams 1930:426). At the Mature Green Corn Feast, the high priest **Uku** had his arms covered with this animal's hide (Butrick n.d.b:203; Payne n.d.:61). Its skin was also associated with hunting and the ball play: Otter skin "shot-pouches" served as containers for hunting charms (Williams 1930:251), and a small piece of its hide was used in the rituals performed prior to the game (Butrick n.d.b:256). Furthermore, the brains of the otter also

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[3]The term "King" is placed within double quotation marks throughout as it is unclear whether the early writers were actually referring to the high priest **Uku** or to some nominal head.

were utilized, constituting one of the ingredients in a medicinal compound given to tuberculosis patients (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:57).

The Middle, or This, World

The Middle, or This, World was inhabited by the quadrupeds, or four-footed beasts, **nvhgi-dikanasaldv**, that is, terrestrial mammals (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:13). They constituted the most important animal group hunted by the Cherokee and hence played a prominent role in recorded oral traditions. According to the mythology, they united as a team and challenged the birds to a ball game but were defeated (Davis 1910:40-41, 1937:25-28; Mooney 1900a:286-287). Furthermore, in regard to medicinal beliefs, the four-footed animals, as a group, were held responsible for causing diarrhea and dysentery in adults (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:243-245).

The meat of certain native mammals was regarded as a necessary part of the diet. Other mammals, however, were not considered food by the Cherokee: dog (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87), fox (Butrick n.d.a:87; Williams 1930:139), mole (Butrick n.d.a:87), mouse (Williams 1930:139), panther (Williams 1930:139), rat (Williams 1930:139), skunk (Butrick n.d.a:87), and wolf (Butrick n.d.a:87; Williams 1930:139). Opossum meat, though originally tabooed (Butrick n.d.a:87), eventually became accepted as a dietary item (Ulmer and Beck 1951:57;

Williams 1930:17). Dog flesh was never eaten (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87) except at one particular ritual feast (Fyffe 1761:9) (see Dog). Rabbit was usually cited as an important food (Bartram 1853:47; Grant 1975:246; Mooney 1890b:110) and forbidden only to individuals with specific ailments and to ball players (see Rabbit). One source, however, stated that its consumption was prohibited to all persons (Butrick n.d.a:87), and a modern reference noted that, among present-day Cherokee, rabbit and squirrel are tabooed only in summer when they are parasite-ridden (Grant 1975:246). Finally, skunk was prohibited (Butrick n.d.a:87) except in times of smallpox epidemics when its flesh was consumed as a preventive measure (Mooney 1900a:265-266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:76).

Several taboos regarding the consumption of mammalian food in general were mentioned. The great war speaker was never allowed to eat the heart of any quadruped or bird (Butrick n.d.b:241), and the meat of the young of these animals was prohibited to ball players training for the game (Mooney 1890b:110).

One further note of interest was the frequent appearance of sculptured mammalian figures on Cherokee stone pipes. Effigies of bear and squirrel were most common, and those of buffalo, panther, fox, wolf, and rabbit occasionally occurred (Louis-Philippe 1977:90; Williams 1930:455; Witthoft 1949).

This section is divided into two parts. The large quadrupeds are presented first, followed by descriptive accounts of the medium and smaller four-footed animals.

Large quadrupeds

The deer **ahwi** was the major animal hunted by the Cherokee, serving both secular and ritual uses. Its overwhelming importance was symbolized by the fact that it led all the other wild animals out of a cave in the cosmogonic story concerning the origin of game (Mooney 1888:100, 1900a:243; Payne n.d.:35-36). The greater dependence upon this large mammal was further demonstrated by its frequent mention in the mythology, particularly in reference to its procurement and utilization (Davis 1910; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney 1888:98-105, 1900a).

As leader of the four-footed animals, the deer epitomized the Middle, or This, World (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:13). Its role as a compromise between the two other realms, Under and Upper Worlds, was represented by the change in position of its tail (from hanging down to curling upward) as it entered This World (Mooney 1888:100, 1900a:243). The deer was a fairly powerful animal. It was an ally of the snakes and the ginseng (Panax quinquefolium Linnaeus) plant, and any harm to one of them was avenged by all three (Mooney 1900a:294,296) (see Snake).

In the myths, the Deer was noted for its fleetness and was regarded as the swiftest runner among the animals (Davis 1910:40, 1937:26; Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:275,286).

Its fine antlers were acquired as a reward for winning a race against the Rabbit by default as the Rabbit had cheated prior to the contest (Davis 1910:35, 1937:20-21; Mooney 1888:106-108, 1900a:263,275-276). The trickster Rabbit, upset by its defeat, sought revenge through deceptive means by filing down the Deer's teeth with a hard stone; consequently, the Deer's teeth became so short and blunt that even now the Deer can feed only upon grass and leaves (Mooney 1888:107-108, 1900a:276-277). The Deer, however, played the final prank by challenging the Rabbit to a jumping contest; when the Rabbit had jumped to the other side of a stream, the Deer conjured the small body of water into a large river so that the Rabbit could not return to the Cherokee country (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:409; Mooney 1900a:277) (see Rabbit).

A number of stories involved interactions between the Deer and several other animals. In one myth, the Deer was defeated in a race against the slow but cunning Terrapin (Lanman 1849:443), and, in another tale, it was preyed upon by the Bobcat (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:405). Finally, two deer held a competition for sexual differentiation: The one that successfully managed to jump across a river became the buck, and the other that fell into the water became the doe (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:401).

The Little Deer was the chief, serving as guardian and protector of all the deer. It was approximately the size

of a small dog, was white in color (white was sacred), and was always accompanied by a large herd of deer. Its branching antlers served as hunting charms, and any person fortunate enough to gain possession of even a small piece would always have success in the chase. Being invisible to most human beings, however, it could only be seen and hence wounded by those few hunters who had mastered certain occult powers. Still, it was immortal and when shot by such individuals was automatically reanimated (Mooney 1890a:45, 1900a:262,263-264).

The Little Deer presided at the council held by the deer to invent disease. At this council, they decided to convey rheumatism to those hunters who did not request pardon subsequent to killing one of their kind. When a deer was shot, the Little Deer found out whether the proper formulas had been recited. If the offense had not been placated, it sought vengeance by implanting the disease into the guilty person (Davis 1910:49; Mooney 1890a:45-46, 1891:347, 1900a:250-251,263-264).

Vengeful deer ghosts were also responsible for causing local pains, muscular cramps, and twitching (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:207). On the other hand, the Deer served as a curative agent and was invoked, along with the Wolf, Fox, and Opossum, for healing frostbite, as its feet were immune to intense cold (Mooney 1900a:263,266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:298-299). Moreover, it was addressed by the

shaman when taking the ball players to water as a means of ensuring a victory in the game (Mooney 1890b:126).

Several additional beliefs regarding the deer were mentioned. Dreams by hunters of having bread or fruit were an omen of success in finding deer (Butrick n.d.a:53,88). Furthermore, upon killing this animal, they always removed the hamstring as it was forbidden to be eaten. Failure to observe such a taboo would cause an individual to limp and to have cramps in the same tendon when running (Butrick 1884:12, n.d.a:6, n.d.b:62,241; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1968:53; Mooney 1891:323, 1900a:263,447; Williams 1930:144,145).

Various parts of the deer, particularly the meat, tongue, and skin, were essential components in the performance of practically every Cherokee ritual. Its meat, venison, constituted a significant feature in the marriage ceremony and its consummation. The groom, by presenting venison to his bride, demonstrated his willingness and ability to provide for her; and she, by dressing and giving him some of the meat as well as an ear of corn, pledged that food would always be prepared and agricultural fields tended (Malone 1956a:17; Tucker 1969:193; Williams 1930:147).

Large quantities of venison were eaten at major feasts, particularly those held during the annual religious festivals (Butrick n.d.b; Hicks in Swanton 1979:771; Payne n.d.; Speck and Broom 1951:52; Witthoft 1946c:215).

In preparation for such events, the high priest **Uku**, through his seven councilors, ordered a number of hunters to kill deer and other game so as to obtain the requisite meat. Upon killing the first buck, the chief hunter cut a small piece from the right side of the end of the animal's tongue and wrapped it in old leaves. The tongue, the skins, and the meat, which was preserved by barbecuing, were brought to the priest on the appointed day. The meat was prepared, usually by pounding and boiling, by seven women authorized to do the cooking and was then distributed and eaten by the guests under the direction of the **Uku** and his right-hand man (Butrick n.d.b; Payne n.d.). Ritual preparation and consumption of venison, along with bear meat, also was performed by the family and friends of a person attempting to avert the consequences presaged by bad dreams when all other methods had failed (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:305).

The tongue of the deer (usually a buck) was used for sacrificial and/or divinatory purposes. It was thrown into the fire as an offering and was sprinkled with flowers of wild tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus). Omens regarding sickness and/or death were read based upon the manner in which the meat was consumed by the flames and/or the direction and number of times the meat popped. If the meat burned quietly so that the smoke rose directly upward and/or a few small fragments of meat were flung in an easterly direction, the year would be a healthy one; but if

the smoke formed a bluish cloud resting over the fire and/or pieces of meat darted westward, sickness would prevail. Moreover, the number of deaths that would occur was equivalent to the amount of times the meat popped.

This ritual was performed at certain annual religious festivals (Butrick n.d.b; Payne n.d.) and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases (Butrick n.d.b:107; Payne n.d.:114), particularly smallpox (Butrick n.d.b:103; Payne n.d.:119). Other occasions included the training of young boys for the life of a hunter (Butrick n.d.a:43, n.d.b:122) or for the priesthood (Butrick n.d.a:42; Payne n.d.:48) and during hunting (Butrick n.d.a:44,45,47, n.d.b:124) and war expeditions (Butrick n.d.a:65,77-78); the direction and pattern of burning were indicative of the future success of such careers or ventures. The tongue was also sacrificed in times of drought at a ceremony requesting rain for crops (Butrick n.d.b:97; Hicks in Swanton 1979:768). Moreover, at the individual level, the hunter threw a piece of the tongue into the fire while reciting a formula to ensure success in the chase (Mooney 1891:370); this was done the evening prior to going out hunting (Mooney 1891:370) and also after killing a deer (Butrick 1884:11,12).

Of all animal products, the skin of the deer was the most widely used in Cherokee rituals. It was often associated with the "divining crystal" in ceremonies involving the foretelling of future events. This talisman

was kept by various kinds of ritual specialists and, when stored or carried, was wrapped in one or seven deer skins (Butrick n.d.a:62,66, n.d.b:22; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417; Mooney 1900a:298,460; Payne n.d.:41). At certain annual religious festivals, such as the First New Moon of Spring, and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases, the skins of a buck, doe, and fawn were dressed white and placed near the altar fire with the flesh side up and heads facing east. A streak of fresh blood of a deer or fowl was sprinkled on the buck skin from head to tail; upon this streak was placed the crystal, together with some wild tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus) flowers (Butrick n.d.b:106-107; Payne n.d.:52-53,108,112,114). At other events (e.g., Propitiation/Cementation and Great New Moon Festivals, and ceremonies conducted on behalf of much smaller groups such as families or individuals), the stone was set upon one deer skin (Butrick n.d.b:206; Payne n.d.:65) or seven folded deer skins (Payne n.d.:41,78). On all the foregoing occasions, the crystal was consulted for information regarding the general well-being of the people in the upcoming year.

Success in hunting and warfare might also be ascertained by inspecting the stone, again set upon one or seven folded deer skins. A favorable chase was indicated by the appearance in the crystal of a great number of deer horns, and failure was represented by few or none (Butrick n.d.a:44,45, n.d.b:123; Payne n.d.:43). Moreover, the

image of a buck in the stone meant that a buck would be killed, and a tinge of blood indicated the capture of a doe (Butrick n.d.b:149; Payne n.d.:43). In times of war, the crystal was examined by the war priest (Butrick n.d.a:65,68, n.d.b:22,23,72,73; Olbrechts 1930a:549-550).

Deer hide would also function as a pouch, or bag, for carrying other kinds of ritual paraphernalia. It was used by the ritual specialist for holding the beads, feathers, and skins necessary in performing the ceremonies when taking individuals to water (Mooney 1900b:6), as in the ball play (Butrick n.d.b:51-53,255-257; Mooney 1890b:116), and by the Beloved Woman for containing her "swan's" (egret) wing as well as the essential roots and herbs for preparing the sacred black drink (Tucker 1969:194; Williams 1927:100).

Deer skins constituted the principal raw material in the ritual garments worn by individuals endowed with civil or military power and/or prestige. The "King," at his inauguration, was clad in a shirt, breeches, and mocassins, all made of white-dressed deer skin (De Vorsey 1971:111-112). Two strings of the animal's hoofs were fastened around his ankles (De Vorsey 1971:112).

The deer skin costume of the high priest **Uku** and the other priests included the following: shirt; breeches; coat extending practically down to the feet and fastened with pins on both shoulders of the **Uku** but on only one shoulder of the other priests; girdle; belt with tassels at the ends hanging from the waist to the knees; leggings;

garters having small bells attached; moccasins; and a conical-shaped cap, or crown, fabricated out of the skin from the underside of a deer's tail with the hair still intact and decorated with bells and white feathers. These garments, whitened with clay, served as the attire for conducting official duties (Butrick n.d.b:16,17-18,58). The initiation dress of the **Uku** was similar, but painted yellow, and was worn at his original consecration ceremony (Butrick n.d.b:16,17,57) as well as at the **Uku** Dance, a septennial festival, in which he was inducted anew (Butrick n.d.b:57,270; Payne n.d.:88). The wives of the priests were clad in a short gown and a petticoat extending almost to the ankles, both made of whitened deer skin (Butrick n.d.b:18,58).

The official habit of the great war chief at his installation was similar to that of the **Uku** except that it was red in color (Butrick n.d.b:41). Warriors, when being crowned and awarded a new title (higher rank), wore deer skin moccasins, also dyed red (Williams 1930:426).

Deer skins were used in other forms of political regalia as well. At the inauguration of the "King" in the council house, white-dressed buck skins served as covers for his seat and as floor mats beneath his feet (Butrick n.d.b:38). The national standard, or flag, consisted of a long pole with a dressed deer skin or cloth fastened at the top. These were painted white in times of peace (Butrick

n.d.a:23, n.d.b:115) and red during war (Butrick n.d.a:63, n.d.b:22,73).

Deer skins were employed for several other ritual purposes. Rattles worn by women dancers were made of several terrapin, or box turtle, shells (four or five) filled with pebbles or beads and fastened together to a piece of deer (Williams 1930:101,116,178) or woodchuck (Speck and Broom 1951:22) hide (see Groundhog). One such specimen had deer hoofs dangling from the top shell (Speck and Broom 1951:22). Thin wet deer skins were sometimes used as head coverings over clay pot drums (Williams 1930:116) (see Groundhog). Deer skin "tails" (suspended from the lower back) were worn by dancers performing in the Gizzard Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:79). Leather strings, or thongs, were used to ornament the long wooden stems of Cherokee stone pipes (Williams 1930:455); moreover, fawn hoofs were fastened to war pipe stems (Williams 1930:8). Skins also served as a medium of exchange, being used as fee payments to the eagle killer (Mooney 1900a:453; Speck and Broom 1951:33-34; Williams 1930:32) and to the shaman for services rendered (Mooney 1891:337,349-351, 1900b:6; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:97).

Ball play apparatus were often fabricated from deer hide and, at times, other deer parts. The ball was made of deer's hair (Butrick n.d.b:52,256; Mooney 1890b:111; Williams 1930:428), and its covering as well as the bowl of the ball stick consisted of deer (Evans n.d.:12; Klinck and

Talman 1970:78; Mooney 1890b:111; Williams 1930:428-429) or squirrel (Butrick n.d.b:52,256; Mooney 1890b:111) skin. Ball players occasionally wore a deer's tail as a "tail" pendant (suspended from the rear of a belt) (Speck and Broom 1951:55,57) or as a hair ornament (Mooney 1890b:122), symbolically endowing themselves with swiftness in running (Mooney 1890b:122; Speck and Broom 1951:57), an important characteristic of this animal.

The tail also served other functions. At times, it was used as ears on decoy masks (often made of woodchuck hide) worn by hunters when stalking wild turkeys (Speck and Broom 1951:92). Moreover, at the Propitiation/Cementation Festival and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases, the seven persons assigned to cleanse the council house and individual homes wore a handkerchief round their heads decorated with a "plume" fabricated out of the skin from the underside of a deer's tail with the hair still intact (Butrick n.d.b:106; Payne n.d.:71).

Several other parts of the deer were employed in Cherokee rituals, though far less frequently. Its tallow, or fat, was mixed with dried and pounded white clay to form white paint, which was drawn on the high priest **Uku** candidate during his consecration ceremony (Butrick n.d.b:17,36). The horn (antler) was boiled to make glue, which was used to adhere feathers to warriors' arrows (Butrick n.d.b:47,306). The hairs were one of several ornaments on the long wooden stems of Cherokee peace pipes

(Williams 1927:65). Sinew was used by warriors to fasten egret feathers together on the cap, or crown, received when being awarded a new title (higher rank) (Williams 1930:427) and to tie the scalps of their victims during war expeditions (Williams 1930:416). Moreover, ball players used the sinew for sewing the ball together (Williams 1930:428). The carcass of the deer was used as bait by the eagle killer for luring his quarry within shooting range and was subsequently left as a sacrifice to the eagle spirits (Mooney 1900a:282,283,367).

The bear **yona** formerly was a human being whose clan voluntarily chose to live in the world of the forest where food was plentiful rather than endure the labor and uncertainties of human existence.[4] After having performed certain rituals, i.e., fasting and praying for seven days, these people lost their human shape and were transformed into bears (Davis 1910:42-43; Mooney 1891:374, 1900a: 264,325-326,472). Nevertheless, they retained the power of human speech, as attested by several hunters who claimed to have heard a mother bear singing to her cub in a language comprehensible to them (Mooney 1900a:264,400). The belief in the human origin of the bear was most probably based upon its ability to walk upright on two legs

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[4]Although Charles Hudson (1976:139,160-162, 1984:14) considers this creature as an ambiguity that overlaps with the animal and human categories, the bear is discussed here with the four-footed animals as it was associated only with the Middle, or This, World.

and the similarity of its tracks to human footprints (Mooney 1900a:447).

The old White Bear was their chief (white was sacred) and lived at **Kuwahi** 'Mulberry Place,' near an enchanted medicinal lake where the wounded bears sought relief from their injuries and were restored to health (Mooney 1891:374, 1900a:264,321-322,436,526). **Kuwahi** was one of four high peaks in the Great Smoky Mountains (Mooney 1891:374, 1900a:264,436,526) under which were located the bears' town houses, where they assembled for councils and, every autumn, held dances prior to hibernating in their dens for the winter months (Mooney 1900a:250,264).

Noted for its great strength, the Bear was captain of the four-footed animals in the mythical ball game (Davis 1937:25; Mooney 1900a:286-287); nevertheless, it was considered slow and clumsy (Mooney 1890b:128, 1891:395-397; Williams 1930:139) because of its large and heavy stature. Moreover, it was rather lazy, having relinquished hard work and humanness for an easier and more secure animal life.

It is interesting to note that the bear was the only game animal for which the Cherokee hunter was not required to perform any ritual precaution, i.e., ask its pardon, subsequent to killing one (Davis 1910:43,48-49; Mooney 1890a:45, 1900a:250,326). Several explanations have been suggested. First, its origin and ambiguous, i.e., half-human, status set it apart from other animals. Second, at

the council held by the bears to invent disease, they never agreed upon a means to successfully avenge the death of their own kind by human predators; thus the hunter might kill them with impunity (Davis 1910:48-49; Mooney 1890a:45, 1900a:250).

A final reason involved the Cherokee belief in the doctrine of reincarnation. Each animal was assigned a definite life term; death was only temporary if the animal was killed prior to its assigned time limit. Such successive animations were primarily associated with the bear (Davis 1910:43; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:422,427; Mooney 1900a:262,326,329,474; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:28). According to one myth, a man was invited to spend the winter with a bear and eventually acquired its physical features and behavior. Hunters from this man's village found them, killing the bear and taking the man back home. The man died several days later for failing to observe a seven-day period of isolation; the slain bear, however, was resurrected to its proper form from the drops of its own spilt blood (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:422; Mooney 1900a:327-329,473-474). In another tale, a bear was allotted seven lives and was repeatedly killed by hunters until it finally died its last death (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:427).

There was one type of bear, Long Hams **galos-ganvhida**, however, that the hunter did not shoot because of its very

lean body (Mooney 1900a:264). This animal had long legs and small feet (Mooney 1900a:264) and often led the other bears in their town house dances (Mooney 1900a:328).

In the myths, the Bear was a good-natured animal and was friends with the trickster Rabbit. The two used to dine together; the Bear would always slit its side to supply the grease needed for cooking the meal. On one occasion, however, the Rabbit attempted to imitate the Bear; since it lacked a sufficient fat reserve, blood gushed out instead, and the Bear assisted in treating the wound (Mooney 1900a:273-274,450). Despite the good rapport between these two animals, the Bear was responsible for pulling off the Rabbit's tail when the Rabbit donned the Otter's coat at a council contest (Mooney 1900a:268) (see Rabbit). The Bear, itself, once had a nice bushy tail, which it lost as a result of a prank played by the Fox (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:400) (see Fox). Also, it acquired its black color in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:387). Finally, in one other story, a bear skin was held responsible for the stripes on the Chipmunk's back (Olbrechts 1931:180-182) (see Chipmunk).

Several important products derived from the bear were employed in a number of ceremonial practices. Its flesh was ritually prepared and consumed by the family and friends of a person attempting to avert the consequences presaged by bad dreams when all other methods had failed

(Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:305) (see Deer). Oil extracted from its fat was sometimes used as a medicine (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:56,57); in one preparation, it was mixed wih fat from a fish hawk's throat, the resulting drink being given to tuberculosis patients (Witthoft 1946b:377). As an ointment, it was used on a number of occasions. At the Green Corn Festival(s), bear oil was worn by women dancers (Williams 1930:101) and was rubbed over those fruits of harvest constituting the sacrificial offering to the fire (Williams 1930:112). It also covered the poles utilized in the chunkey game (Williams 1930:431). Warriors, when being crowned and awarded a new title (higher rank), anointed their bodies with bear oil (Williams 1930:426). During war expeditions, they sometimes wore bear paws on their feet so as to deceive the enemy (Williams 1930:413). A bear skin patch served as a beard on a gourd mask worn in the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:27), and moccasins made out of such material composed part of the habit of prisoners condemned to the stake (Williams 1930:418).

The buffalo, or bison, **yansa** was the largest and one of the most important game animals hunted by the Cherokee. Nevertheless, its role in the mythology was relatively insignificant (Mooney 1900a:263). It appeared in only one myth in which it helped the birds devise a scheme, whereby the proud Buzzard lost all its head feathers (Mooney 1900a:293) (see Buzzard).

The buffalo was one of several animals mentioned in the treatment of rheumatism. Patients were forbidden to consume its meat, touch it or its hide, or use a comb or spoon made from its horn because of this animal's natural hump (Mooney 1891:349, 1900a:263; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:28,66,293,294).

Various parts of the buffalo were often modified for use in certain ritual practices. Its horn served as raw material both for the sucking horn, a surgical instrument used by the shaman in treating particular ailments such as noticeable swellings from boils or toothaches (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:73, plate 7,g), and for the war trumpet (Butrick n.d.b:25). Its thick hide was painted red and constituted an important part of the warriors' dress and armor, including their shield (Butrick n.d.a:74, n.d.b:3,46), breastplate (Butrick n.d.b:23,47), helmet, bracelet, and quiver (Butrick n.d.b:47). Hoofs were sometimes worn on warriors' feet during war expeditions so as to deceive the enemy (Williams 1930:413). Buffalo hair, or wool, was used by women, who strung it around their legs to ensure immunity from miscarriage and difficult labor (Williams 1930:178).

The deer, bear, and buffalo were the largest and most important game animals hunted by the Cherokee, serving as a source of food and nonfood products, as previously demonstrated (see Chapter 5). The relative significance of

their role was further exemplified by the various ritual apparatus and ceremonials associated with their procurement.

Hunting masks fabricated out of wood were worn during the Hunting Dance, performed before and after the chase, as well as during the hunt itself for decoy purposes; as an additional disguise, the skin of the animal being pursued clothed the hunter's back. Masks for stalking deer and buffalo were stained dark red with sumac (Rhus glabra Linnaeus) and red clay and had eyeholes edged with black. The buffalo mask had incurved horns and a boss of fur of some mammal tacked onto the forehead; antlers were attached to that of the deer. The bear hunting mask was stained black with walnut (Juglans spp.) bark dye, having red-painted eyeholes and a boss of bear fur attached to the forehead (Speck and Broom 1951:28,85-86, plate IX).

A number of hunting formulas had to be recited or sung in the pursuit of these animals. Songs for luring deer were taught to the Cherokee by the Thunder Boys, sons of **Kanati**, the mythical hunter and keeper of the game (Davis 1910:48; Mooney 1888:98, 1900a:248,435; Speck and Broom 1951:89-91), and/or by the mythical monster Stone Man **Nvyuhnuwi** (Mooney 1900a:320; Speck and Broom 1951:13-18,91); these songs were sung by the hunter while wearing the deer mask (Speck and Broom 1951:91). The bear hunting songs were taught by the first metamorphosed bears (Davis 1910:43; Mooney 1891:374, 1900a:326; Speck and Broom 1951:87) and/or by the Stone Man (Mooney 1900a:320; Speck

and Broom 1951:13-18,87). Each bear formula was sung by the hunter at a certain specified time as follows: the first, when starting out from the camp every morning (Mooney 1900a:326; Speck and Broom 1951:87); another, sung in order to attract the bears while en route to the place where he expected to hunt during that day (Mooney 1891:373-374, 1900a:327; Speck and Broom 1951:88); and the third, before and after the chase, with or without the bear mask (Speck and Broom 1951:89).

Decoy calls were sometimes used for hunting these large animals. The deer call was comprised of a split laurel (Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus) twig with a piece of laurel or rhododendron (Rhododendron spp.) leaf lengthwise in the cleft as a vibrator so as to produce a buzzing sound (deer bleat) (Speck and Broom 1951:91-92).

Several dances representative of the behavior of these large animals were performed on certain occasions, thereby further emphasizing their relative importance to the Cherokee. The Buffalo Dance was one in a series of animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s) (Corkran 1969:24,25; Klinck and Talman 1970:70; Speck and Broom 1951:52,72); the actors represented its horns by holding their fingers upward near their temples (Speck and Broom 1951:71-72). The Bear Dance was symbolic of the chase and was also performed during the Green Corn Festival(s) (Corkran 1969:24,25; Klinck and Talman 1970:70). This was a pantomime in which two men, dressed in bear skins, imitated

the movements of the animal, while two others played the role of hunters (Klinck and Talman 1970:70; Williams 1927:102-103). Another Bear Dance described, however, was performed only as a winter rite and often constituted a part of the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:11,34,45). Both men and women acted as bears, mimicking a dance believed to be performed by these animals in which they circled around a big hemlock (Tsuga spp.) tree (Speck and Broom 1951:44-45). It has been suggested that the bear effigy sculptures appearing on a large number of Cherokee stone pipes might have been associated with the Bear Dance (Witthoft 1949:58).

Three other large mammals were less frequently mentioned in recorded oral traditions. The elk **ahwi egwa** occurred in one tale in which a hunter married a woman who originally was such an animal (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:422-424).

The panther, or mountain lion, **tlvdaji**, because of its ability to remain awake the first seven nights of creation, was given the power to see and be active at night (nocturnal), thereby enabling it to prey upon other birds and mammals for sustenance (Davis 1910:42, 1937:18; Mooney 1900a:240) (see Wolf and Owl). It fed primarily upon deer (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:441,444), and, in one story, a hunter and a panther collaborated in killing a buck (Mooney 1900a:324). The panther was briefly mentioned in several other myths and legends (Kilpatrick and

Kilpatrick 1966:421,429,438-439,441,444; Mooney 1888:104, 1900a:246-247). Moreover, it occurred in one medicinal sacred formula in which it was invoked for healing frostbite, as its feet were immune to intense cold (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:257-258).

The Great Female **agisegwa**, possibly Great Doe, was a large mythical female animal and was probably an animal god (Mooney 1900a:507). It was the causative agent for "shaking," a disease involving a violent shaking and trembling of the arms (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:225-226).

Medium/small quadrupeds

The rabbit **jisdu** was the most prominent animal in Cherokee mythology. It occurred in a number of amusing stories in which it played the role of a trickster and deceiver and the author of much of the mischief (Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:262,447). A swift runner and good jumper (Davis 1910:35, 1937:5,20; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:409; Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:270,275,277), it served as the messenger for the animals, being responsible for notifying them of councils and dances (Davis 1910:39, 1937:5,15,29; Mooney 1900a:269) as well as for delivering council orders to the other towns (Mooney 1900a:273,450). It was also regarded as a great song and dance leader (Mooney 1900a:270,274).

The Rabbit's sagacity and shrewdness were demonstrated throughout the mythology as it schemed and carried out various strategems. The Opossum was one of a number of characters that, on several occasions, served as the target of the Rabbit's pranks. Envious of the Opossum's long bushy tail, the Rabbit (having lost its own) sent the Cricket, an expert hair cutter, to comb and "dress" it in preparation for a council and dance, and, as a consequence, the Opossum now has a naked tail (Davis 1910:39, 1937:15-16; Mooney 1900a:269). The Rabbit was also responsible for the Opossum's habit of feigning death, or "playing possum" (Davis 1910:39, 1937:17; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:406-407; Mooney 1900a:269,273). (See Opossum.) Other animals that were prey to the Rabbit's artifices included the Fox, from whom it stole a number of fish (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:404-405), and the Wolf, whom it killed with the assistance of the Terrapin (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:408-409).

The Rabbit also displayed its resourcefulness when captured by predators, by using its song and dance leadership skills as an escape mechanism. In one story, it deterred the wolves from killing it by teaching them a new dance (Mooney 1900a:274). On other occasions, it transferred the predatory intentions of the Bobcat onto a flock of turkeys (Mooney 1900a:269-270) (see Bobcat) or a deer (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:405).

Notwithstanding its cleverness, the Rabbit sometimes became the victim of its own mischievous deeds and, in a few of these situations, underwent certain attributive mutations as well (Hedges 1973). In competing against the Otter at duck hunting, the Rabbit caught a duck by throwing a noose over the bird's head. In the struggle, the duck flew up with the Rabbit still holding onto the noose. Upon releasing its grasp, the Rabbit fell into a hollow sycamore stump where it remained trapped until a man (Mooney 1900a:266-267) or, in another account, two turkeys (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:410) set it free. On another occasion, the Rabbit, in its desire to win a council contest for having the finest garment, stole the Otter's coat and wore it to the council. (See Otter.) Unfortunately, the Bear recognized the disguised Rabbit and pulled off its tail as it made its escape (Mooney 1888:106, 1900a:267-268). In one further incident, the Rabbit volunteered to destroy Flint, a mythical character who assisted human beings in killing animals. It invited Flint to dinner and, after the meal, encouraged him to sleep, subsequently shattering him with a mallet and stake. Fragments of flint scattered in all directions as the Rabbit ran to its hole for safety. Upon sticking its head out to determine whether the explosion had ended, a piece fell and struck it on the mouth, thereby giving the Rabbit its characteristic split lip (Davis 1910:35-36; Mooney 1900a:274-275). According to other versions, a flint chip

also hit the Rabbit from behind, cutting off its tail (Davis 1910:35-36; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:410-411).

The Rabbit also had several encounters with the Deer. These two mammals were encouraged by the other animals to race, a pair of antlers to be awarded to the swifter. Prior to the contest, the Rabbit cheated by clearing a path through the underbrush. When the animals discovered this, they gave the prize to the Deer and sent the Rabbit to gnaw down bushes for its livelihood (Davis 1910:35, 1937:20-21; Mooney 1888:106-108, 1900a:263,275-276). The Rabbit, upset by its defeat, sought revenge through deceptive means by filing down the Deer's teeth with a hard stone; consequently, the Deer's teeth became so short and blunt that now the Deer can feed only upon grass and leaves (Mooney 1888:107-108, 1900a:276-277). The Deer, however, played the final prank by challenging the Rabbit to a jumping contest; when the Rabbit had jumped to the other side of a stream, the Deer conjured the small body of water into a large river so that the Rabbit could not return to the Cherokee country (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:409; Mooney 1900a:277). (See Deer.)

Several other Rabbit stories were well known among the Cherokee. In one humorous tale, the Rabbit was suspected of stealing water from the animals' well and was captured by a tar wolf trap; it managed to escape, however, when the animals unfastened it (Mooney 1900a:271-273). Another

favorite told how the Rabbit and Bear used to dine together; the Bear would always slit its side to supply the grease needed for cooking the meal. On one occasion, however, the Rabbit attempted to imitate the Bear; since it lacked a sufficient fat reserve, blood gushed out instead, and the Bear assisted in treating the wound (Mooney 1900a:273-274,450). The last myth described a race between the Rabbit and the slow but cunning Terrapin (Davis 1910:33, 1937:5-7; Mooney 1900a:270-271) (see Terrapin) or Water Turtle (Speck 1927:111-112) (see Water Turtle). Because of the Rabbit's defeat, a soup made of its hamstrings was, prior to the ball play, strewn along the trail to be taken by members of the opposing team, thereby making them timorous and tired in action so as to lose the game (Mooney 1890b:114, 1900a:262,271).

One final remark regarding the Rabbit's role as prankster should be mentioned. Although it was responsible for causing modifications in a number of creatures, only two characters in the myths, the Bear (human transformed) and Flint (human ally), were successful in altering the physical appearance of the Rabbit (Hedges 1973:154).

The Rabbit was also associated with several medicinal beliefs and was held responsible for a children's disease characterized by nervousness and troubled sleep (worms) (Mooney 1891:353-355) (see Screech Owl and Hooting Owl). Its meat was tabooed to certain individuals: pregnant women, for fear that the child would sleep with its eyes

open or would have enormous eyes (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120); ball players in training, as the rabbit was a timid animal that became easily confused when running from the hunter (Mooney 1890b:110, 1900a:262); and rheumatic patients, because this animal sometimes assumed a hunchback position (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:65). On the other hand, the Rabbit served as a curative agent, being invoked for healing frostbite, as its feet were immune to intense cold (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:258-259), and "itching" (genitourinary disease) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:285-287).

Finally, its fur and skin were occasionally used in certain rituals. They were tacked onto some of the wooden masks worn in the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:26,27) and several of those used as animal hunting decoys (Speck and Broom 1951:85-86).

The wolf **wahya** was the hunter and watchdog of **Kanati**, the mythical hunter and keeper of the game (Mooney 1900a:264,280,434). Because of its ability to remain awake the first seven nights of creation, it was given the power to see and be active at night (nocturnal), thereby enabling it to prey upon other birds and mammals for sustenance (Davis 1937:18) (see Panther and Owl). The wolf was regarded with fear; the killing of this animal was generally avoided and was carried out by certain individuals hired to prevent it from invading fish traps and livestock. In committing such an act, the wolf killer

was required to recite the proper prayers for obtaining pardon so that the relatives of the deceased animal would not seek revenge (Mooney 1900a:265,448,453; Williams 1930:17).

The wolf was a very successful hunter (Mooney 1900a:280); nevertheless, it could be easily deceived by its intended prey. Both the Rabbit (Mooney 1900a:274) and the Groundhog (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:401; Mooney 1900a:279), on separate occasions, were able to escape by teaching it a new dance. In another incident, the Raccoon managed to plaster the Wolf's eyes with dung; this was removed by the Redbird, and, in return, the Wolf located some red paint from which this bird acquired its red color (Mooney 1900a:289-290).

The Wolf also appeared in one version of a common myth involving a race between a slow and a swift animal. Although a fast runner, it lost a race against the slow but cunning Terrapin (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:407-408).

Several different tales recounted how the Wolf was killed. In one story, it choked to death on a bone or flint thrown into its throat by the Opossum, who was out persimmon hunting with the Terrapin. The Terrapin, who used the ears of the slain animal as hominy spoons, was suspected of the murder. Although captured by the other wolves, it eventually escaped (Davis 1910:36-37, 1937:11-14; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:398-400; Mooney 1900a:

278-279) (see Terrapin). In another tale, the Rabbit and the Terrapin were responsible for the Wolf's death (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:408-409).

In regard to medicine, the Wolf was relatively unimportant. It was primarily invoked for minor ailments, such as a headache (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:188), sore eyes (Butrick n.d.b:331), a cut, and a thorn or splinter in the flesh (Butrick n.d.b:333).

The fox **juhla** occurred in several myths and was responsible for the loss of the Bear's bushy tail (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:400) (see Bear). Nevertheless, like many of the other animals, it too fell prey to the Rabbit's pranks, and, in one incident, its freshly caught fish were stolen by this trickster (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:404-405). The fur of the gray fox was tacked onto some of the wooden masks worn in the War (or Snake-Mask) Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:62) and several of those used as animal hunting decoys (Speck and Broom 1951:85-86).

The wolf and fox frequently appeared together in recorded oral traditions. The two collaborated in constructing a tar wolf trap in order to capture the Rabbit, who was suspected of stealing water from the animals' well (Mooney 1900a:272). Also, it was commonly believed that should an individual embarking on a journey encounter and startle either animal, and it in turn ran and subsequently looked back and barked, a relative or neighbor

would soon die (Butrick n.d.a:57). Moreover, a fox howling near one's house was a warning of sickness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37).

The Wolf and Fox also served as curative agents and, in one medicinal sacred formula, were invoked, along with the Deer and Opossum, for healing frostbite, as their feet were immune to intense cold (Mooney 1900a:263,266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:298-299). Finally, these two animals were associated together in warfare. Their skins were worn and their characteristic cries mocked by two of the four men serving as scouts, or spies, on war expeditions, whose task was to locate the enemy (Butrick n.d.a:75,79, n.d.b:73) (see Owl and Raven).

The dog **gihli** played a role in several cosmogonic myths, being responsible for creating the Milky Way (Mooney 1900a:259,265) and for saving a man and his family from the great deluge (Mooney 1900a:261,265). In one tale, it sent the Wolf away and took this animal's place by the warm house fire (Mooney 1900a:265,280).

Regarding folk beliefs, dreams about an approaching dog might result in witchcraft (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37). If a dog consumed the heart of a scorpion lizard, it would always have its nutrient requirements whether it ate or not (Mooney 1900a:307). Additionally, a dog that talked like a human being portended some catastrophic event (Butrick n.d.a:58), and one that howled forewarned sickness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37,62) or

death (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37,62,78,133). Furthermore, to improve its ability in tracking game during a hunt, it was sometimes given water to drink in which cartridges had been washed (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:79).

The Dog was addressed in a number of medicinal sacred formulas, being called upon for healing several ailments, including a bullet or arrow wound (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:271-273), a thorn or splinter in the flesh (Butrick n.d.b:333), "food is changed" (digestive trouble) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:279-281), and a "simulator" disease manifested by sudden pains attributed to an object implanted in the victim's body (witchcraft) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:187-188). Furthermore, it assisted in the treatment of "crippler" (rheumatism) (Mooney 1891:345-349), and, in one formula, patients were forbidden to touch this animal because it sometimes assumed a hunchback position (Mooney 1891:349-351; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:294).

Dog flesh was never eaten (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87) except at one particular ritual feast. This was prepared by the great war chief for young men intending to enlist and embark on a war expedition (Fyffe 1761:9).

The opossum **sihgwa ujetsdi**, or **sihgwa uyetsga**, was generally held in low esteem (Mooney 1891:375-378; Williams 1930:17). Because of such distinctive physical characteristics as its fur-lined pouch, or marsupium, on

the belly of the female, it was believed that the young were conceived without any assistance from the male (Mooney 1900a:265,449).

In the myths, the Opossum was noted for its vanity, having once had a beautiful long bushy tail of which it was very proud. The trickster Rabbit was envious (having lost its own tail) and sent the Cricket, an expert hair cutter, to comb and "dress" the Opossum's tail in preparation for a council and dance. The Cricket furtively wrapped a long string around the tail while cutting off all the hair. The unsuspecting Opossum, thus punished for its inflated pride, finally discovered the denudation of its tail at the dance and was so surprised and ashamed that it rolled over and grinned as it still does today when threatened (Davis 1910:38-39, 1937:15-17; Mooney 1900a:269; Speck 1927:112). This "playing possum," or feigning death, seemed to have also originated in another humorous situation in which the Rabbit again was responsible. Both the Opossum and Rabbit were seeking wives, but the former always came too late to the council to acquire a mate. On one occasion, however, the Rabbit gave a council the order to commence fighting so that the unarmed Opossum was attacked upon its tardy arrival. To save its life, it fell to the ground and pretended to be dead (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:407; Mooney 1900a:273). (See Rabbit.) The Opossum appeared in one other myth in which it, along with the Terrapin, was responsible for killing the Wolf (Davis 1910:36-37,

1937:11; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:398-400; Mooney 1900a:278) (see Terrapin).

The Opossum was mentioned in only one medicinal sacred formula. It was invoked, along with the Wolf, Fox, and Deer, for healing frostbite, as its feet were immune to intense cold (Mooney 1900a:263,266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:298-299).

The fur of the opossum was tacked onto some of the wooden masks worn in the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:26,27) and several of those used as animal hunting decoys (Speck and Broom 1951:85-86). When dyed yellow and red, it served as a cap, or crown, for the "King" (Corkran 1956:31-32, 1969:22,23; Grant 1909:57; Williams 1928:126) (cf. Otter and Raccoon).

The mink **svgi** was reputed to be a great thief. As punishment, the animals threw it into the fire, thereby burning its fur black and giving it the characteristic odor of roasted meat, which it still emits from its scent glands whenever it is attacked or excited (Mooney 1900a:263,277).

The mink and the weasel, or yellow rat, **jisdeji daloni**, were both referred to as "penetrators" because of their ability to seize and hold their prey and were frequently solicited in the medicinal sacred formulas to pull out a disease (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:267,270-271). The two collaborated with the Otter and Kingfisher or Leech (also "penetrators") for treating "breast aches" implanted by a ghost (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:269-271). In another

formula, the Mink was invoked, along with the Otter, Fish Hawk, and Kingfisher, for removing "pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy) caused by a magically placed object in the victim's body (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:265-267). The Weasel, due to its yellowish color, was petitioned for curing a kind of "yellow navel," or biliousness (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:217-218).

The skins of both mustelids were associated with the ball play and warfare. A small piece of their hides was used in the rituals performed prior to the game (Butrick n.d.b:256). The great war chief enclosed the "divining crystal" for war in a dressed weasel skin and wore this on his breast by means of a string around his neck (Butrick n.d.b:174; Payne n.d.:40).

The skunk, or polecat, **dila** acquired its striped, or spotted, appearance in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:387). Because of its offensive odor, it possessed a power over or immunity from contagious diseases and was believed to ward off disease spirits. Its scent bag served as a charm and was perforated and placed over the doorway in every house. During smallpox epidemics, its entire carcass was hung up; moreover, in some cases, its flesh was consumed, and its oil was rubbed over the person's skin as additional preventive measures (Mooney 1900a:265-266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:76). (See Buzzard.) The skunk's immunity to disease

was further demonstrated in one legend in which it cured a man dying of smallpox by urinating over him (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:439-440).

The skunk also played a role in certain festivals. The Polecat Dance was one of several animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s) (Corkran 1969:24,25).

The wildcat, or bobcat, **gvhe** was a major character in one popular story in which it captured the Rabbit, who, fearing for its life, was able to transfer this animal's predatory intentions onto a flock of turkeys (Mooney 1900a:269-270) or a deer (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:405). Decoy masks resembling a bobcat were decorated with the fur of this animal and were worn by hunters when stalking wild turkeys (Speck and Broom 1951:86,92, plate VIII; Witthoft 1946b:378) and, at times, bobcats (Witthoft 1946b:378).

The raccoon **kvhli** occurred in several recorded oral traditions. According to one myth, it plastered the Wolf's eyes with dung (Mooney 1900a:289) (see Wolf). Regarding medicinal lore, the Raccoon was held responsible for sudden fainting spells (severe digestive disorder or apoplexy) as the patient's gasping for breath was similar to the cry it made when trapped by a hunter (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:192-193,230). Raccoon meat was prohibited to pregnant women in the belief that the newborn would suffer from a type of disease attacking only infants of tender age (Mooney 1891:354; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120).

The Raccoon Dance was mimetic of a hunter killing this animal and subsequently preparing its skin (Speck and Broom 1951:79). Raccoon hide was sometimes stretched over an earthenware pot, thereby serving as a covering for a war drum (Butrick n.d.a:77, n.d.b:45). Moreover, according to one account, the "King," at his inauguration, wore raccoon furs as arm sleeves, and a series of these, dyed yellow and crimson, were pieced together to form the cap, or crown (De Vorsey 1971:112) (cf. Otter and Opossum).

The groundhog, or woodchuck, **ogana** once possessed a long, bushy tail, and its loss was associated with the origin of the Groundhog Dance. According to one myth, it was captured by wolves, and, in order to deter them from killing and eating it, the Groundhog taught them a new dance. During their performance, the Groundhog attempted to escape by diving into its hole but not until the fastest wolf seized its tail and pulled it so that it broke (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:401; Mooney 1900a:279). The Groundhog was also noted for the offensive smell of its head, a punishment inflicted by the other animals for an insulting statement it once made in council (Mooney 1900a:279).

The Groundhog Dance was one of several animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s) (Mooney 1900a:452; Speck and Broom 1951:52). It was mimetic of this animal's characteristic burrowing and mound-heaping habits (Speck and Broom 1951:74).

The groundhog was sometimes used as bait in trapping eagles (Witthoft 1946b:376). More importantly, however, its skin and fur were often associated with dance performances. The hide constituted a part of certain musical instruments, including the head of the drum (Mooney 1890b:116, 1900a:287; Speck and Broom 1951:20) and, at times, the base and tie strings of terrapin, or box turtle, shell leg-rattles (Speck and Broom 1951:22) (see Deer). Also, it was worn as headbands by ball players (Speck and Broom 1951:57), served at times as raw material for decoy masks worn by hunters when stalking wild turkeys (Speck and Broom 1951:92), and was modified into strings for some of the Booger Dance masks (Speck and Broom 1951:25). Furthermore, in the mythical ball game, its skin was shaped and stretched into wings for the Bat (Mooney 1900a:287). The fur was tacked onto some of the wooden masks worn in the Booger (Speck and Broom 1951:26) and War (or Snake-Mask) (Speck and Broom 1951:62) Dances and several of those used as animal hunting decoys (Speck and Broom 1951:85-86).

The gray squirrel **saloli** was most frequently associated with medicinal beliefs and practices. Because it sometimes assumed a hunchback position, it could not be touched nor could its flesh be consumed by rheumatic patients (Mooney 1891:349-351, 1900a:262; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:65, 293,294). Squirrel meat was also forbidden to pregnant women as it might cause the baby to assume a humped posture in the womb and/or to ascend rather than descend at the

time of birth (imitating a squirrel going up a tree), both resulting in an arduous delivery (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120). Furthermore, the sight of two tree squirrels that fight, fall, and die was an omen of death to the observer's close relatives (Butrick n.d.a:57). On the other hand, the Squirrel was a curative agent and was implored for removing an insect/worm **tsgoya** causing a toothache (Mooney 1891:359; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932: 262-263).

Several parts of the squirrel were used for rituals. Its skin was often used in ball play apparatus, serving as a covering for the ball (Butrick n.d.b:52,256) as well as constituting the bowl of the ball stick (Mooney 1890b:111) (see Deer). Its tail was tied onto the chin and forehead of a gourd mask worn in the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:27).

The ground squirrel, or chipmunk, **kiyuga** was noted for the stripes upon its back; these were the result of scratches made by the other smaller animals enraged at its favorable remarks toward humankind at the council held by them to invent disease (Davis 1910:49; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389; Mooney 1900a:251,262-263). According to another version, however, these scratches were made by a bear skin (Olbrechts 1931:180-182).

Several other small mammals occurred a few times in recorded oral traditions. The mouse **jisdeji** was invoked, along with the Killdeer, to relieve a person of heartburn

(Butrick n.d.b:332). A type of field mouse, or rather shrew, **talsgewi**, or **nvnogalihwogi**, was often found dead in the road and was subsequently dried and burnt to a coal. This coal was rubbed on the eyes so that one would be able to see witches, who, being thus observed, eventually would die (Butrick n.d.a:56). The fur of the muskrat **seligsgwa** was tacked onto several animal hunting decoy masks (Speck and Broom 1951:85-86). Porcupine quills served as ornaments on the long wooden stems of Cherokee peace pipes (Williams 1927:65).

The mole **tinegwa**, unlike the other terrestrial mammals, spent most of its time beneath the surface of the ground, though in a former period, it too lived above ground. This change of residence was accounted for in one myth in which the Mole stole the heart of a young maiden, giving it to a suitor whom she strongly disliked. The Mole instructed the man to swallow the heart; the woman thus became so infatuated with him that they were married. The conjurors, envious of the Mole's love charms, threatened to kill it, and hence this little animal moved underground, remaining in its subterranean habitat ever since (Davis 1910:44; Mooney 1900a:277-278,452). Moreover, the Mole acquired its dark color in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:387). The Mole also played a role in the cosmogonic myth regarding the origin of tobacco in which it

unsuccessfully ventured to retrieve the only extant tobacco plant (Lanman 1849:429; Mooney 1900a:254,439) and, in one version, was killed by the Blue Goose, who had stolen it (Mooney 1900a:254). Finally, the mole was regarded with great disdain, and children were forbidden to even touch it for fear of ruining their vision (Williams 1930:139).

The Upper World

The Upper World was inhabited by the birds **jisgwa** by reason of their ability to fly (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:13). They played a major role in recorded oral traditions and were explicitly differentiated from and, at times, held in opposition to the quadrupeds, or four-footed beasts (Mooney 1900a). Their superiority was demonstrated by their victory over the quadrupeds in the mythical ball game (Davis 1910:40-41, 1937:25-28; Mooney 1900a:286-287).

Birds in general were frequently associated with very young people and were always anxious to be informed of any news regarding the arrival of a newborn baby. If it was a girl, their song was happy as they would be able to feed upon the scattered grains where she beat the corn into meal; but if it was a boy, they lamented because the latter would eventually hunt them with a blowgun and arrows and roast them (Mooney 1900a:401).

In regard to medicinal beliefs, the birds, as a group, were held responsible for causing certain ailments in infants and/or children. These illnesses, which included

diarrhea and dysentery (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:193,244) and a disease characterized by nervousness and troubled sleep (worms) (Mooney 1891:354,355-356), were transmitted by means of either vengeful bird ghosts (Mooney 1891:354, 1900a:281), feathers (Mooney 1900a:281; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:285), and/or bird shadows falling upon the child (Mooney 1891:355, 1900a:281; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:285) or the pregnant mother (Mooney 1891:355). During treatment for such diseases, the victim was required to remain indoors to avoid contact with feathers or bird shadows, which, in turn, might aggravate the ailment (Mooney 1890a:48, 1891:356; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:66,285).

Bird hunting took place from the early part of autumn through the winter months (Speck and Broom 1951:80) and, as with other game, entailed the performance of certain prescribed rituals. The hunter prepared seven blowgun arrows and, prior to starting out from his camp every morning, recited a formula calling upon the spirit Fire to grant him success in the chase (Mooney 1891:371-372). Whenever wild fowl were killed, the Gizzard Dance was performed to prevent any illness that might result from consuming their gizzards, which were a great delicacy (Speck and Broom 1951:79-80).

The meat of certain native birds was regarded as a part of the diet. Other birds, e.g., diurnal or nocturnal predators (Mooney 1900a:453-454; Williams 1930:137), however, were considered unclean and therefore not food by

the Cherokee: buzzard (Butrick n.d.a:87; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374), crow (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374), eagle (Butrick n.d.a:87; Mooney 1900a:453; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374), hawk (Butrick n.d.b:62,241; Mooney 1900a:454; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374), fish hawk (Butrick n.d.a:87), kingfisher (Witthoft 1946b:374), all recognized kinds of owls (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374), raven (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241; Williams 1930:137), redbird, or cardinal (Butrick n.d.b:62,241), swallow (Williams 1930:137), whip-poor-will (Witthoft 1946b:374), woodcock (Butrick n.d.a:87, n.d.b:62,241), and wren (Witthoft 1946b:374). Buzzard was prohibited (Butrick n.d.a:87; Williams 1930:137; Witthoft 1946b:374) except in times of smallpox epidemics when its flesh was consumed as a preventive measure (Mooney 1891:334, 1900a:284). Crane was cited as a food source in one account (Witthoft 1946b:375) but, according to another reference, was forbidden to be eaten (Butrick n.d.a:87). Several taboos regarding the consumption of avian food in general pertaining to the great war speaker (Butrick n.d.b:241) and ball players training for the game (Mooney 1890b:110) have been previously noted (see Quadrupeds).

Bird feathers served a number of ceremonial uses. They constituted a part of various costumes (Butrick n.d.b; Corkran 1969:22,23; Fyffe 1761:9; Harper 1958:234; Tucker

1969:194; Williams 1928:129, 1930:101,427) and ritual paraphernalia (Butrick n.d.b:220; Corkran 1953:24, 1969:20,21; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:89; Payne n.d.:81; Speck and Broom 1951:27,55, plate VI). Also, they were used as ornaments on the long wooden stems of Cherokee stone pipes (Harper 1958:222,504; Williams 1927:65, 1930:455).

Birds were sometimes used for sacrificial and/or divinatory purposes. On certain occasions, the feathers were plucked, entrails removed, and the entire bird laid upon the fire as a burnt offering. This rite of purification was performed as a means of ensuring longevity (Butrick n.d.b:99) and for women following parturition (Butrick n.d.a:81). At other times, however, only the breast was sacrificed, particularly by women in preparing meals and by hunters for success in the chase (Butrick 1884:12). Moreover, on behalf of a family in mourning, a small piece from the right breast was thrown into the fire, and omens regarding death were read based upon the direction and number of times the meat popped (Butrick n.d.a:36-37). At certain annual religious festivals, such as the First New Moon of Spring, and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases, a streak of fresh blood of a fowl or deer was sprinkled on a white-dressed buck skin from head to tail; upon this streak was placed the "divining crystal," together with some wild tobacco (Nicotiana rustica Linnaeus) flowers (Butrick n.d.b:106-107; Payne n.d.:52-53,108) (see Deer).

Birds were also endowed with certain symbolic values. The national standard, or flag, in times of peace, consisted of a long white pole with a white cloth or white-dressed deer skin fastened at the top, immediately below which a bird was painted or carved (Butrick n.d.a:23, n.d.b:115).

This section is divided into two parts. The more significant birds are presented first, followed by descriptive accounts of those less frequently mentioned.

Prominent birds

The eagle **awohalli** was the most sacred bird to the Cherokee (Mooney 1900a:281,453) and, as a symbol of peace and at times victory (Speck and Broom 1951:39,64; Witthoft 1946b:376), played an important role in recorded oral traditions. Noted for its great strength, swiftness of flight, and majestic stature (Mooney 1900a:286; Speck and Broom 1951:57; Williams 1930:183), it served as leader of the birds, being their captain in the mythical ball game (Davis 1910:40-41, 1937:25-28; Mooney 1900a:286-287), and thus epitomized the Upper World (Hudson 1976:128, 1984:13-14).

Dreams of eagles or of eagle feathers were regarded as indicators of future happenings, particularly illness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37) and death (Butrick n.d.a:53,54,88; Mooney 1900a:283); the latter might, at times, be averted by arranging an Eagle Dance (Mooney 1900a:283). On the other hand, for a woman to dream of

her son becoming an eagle was a sign that he would be a great warrior (Butrick n.d.a:54).

In the medicinal realm, the Eagle was a curative agent (Williams 1930:182-183), being called upon in the treatment of a kind of "yellow navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:294-296) and "pain in different places" (shifting pains) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:219-221). In both formulas, the shaman imitated the bird's cry and movements (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:221,296).

The killing of an eagle was a serious matter and was carried out only by certain individuals specially qualified for this task. In committing such an act, the professional eagle killer was required to perform the necessary ritual procedures for calling down and capturing this bird as well as to recite the proper prayers for obtaining pardon so that the relatives of the deceased animal would not seek revenge (Mooney 1900a:281-283,293-294,453; Witthoft 1946b:376). He was compensated for his services with sacrifices or donations, usually deer skins, at the Booger Dance (Mooney 1900a:282,453; Speck and Broom 1951:33-34,94; Williams 1930:32).

The eagle hunt and the subsequent performance of the Eagle Dance were restricted to the late autumn and winter after the agricultural crops had been harvested and the snakes were already in hibernation. This would avoid causing an early frost (destruction of crops) and/or offending the serpents, respectively (Mooney 1900a:281;

Speck and Broom 1951:11,42; Witthoft 1946b:376). Detailed descriptions of Cherokee ritual procedures involved in slaying an eagle and in procuring and preparing its long tail and wing feathers for ceremonial or decorative purposes have been presented in several accounts (Mooney 1900a:281-283,453; Speck and Broom 1951:93-94; Witthoft 1946b:376). These feathers were considered most sacred and thus were highly valued (Mooney 1900a:283,396,453; Williams 1927:103, 1930:32; Witthoft 1946b:376).

The Eagle Dance,[5] also called the Feather Dance (Mooney 1900a:442; Williams 1927:107), was the most spectacular and graceful of the Cherokee dances (Speck and Broom 1951:40; Williams 1927:107) and was most frequently celebrated as a peace rite (Speck and Broom 1951:42-43; Williams 1927:63-65; Witthoft 1946b:376). Moreover, it often constituted a part of the Booger Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:34). The dancers carried small gourd rattles and eagle feather wands and mimicked the bird, using conventionalized steps (Speck and Broom 1951:39-44; Williams 1927:64; Witthoft 1946b:376). This performance and the presentation of eagle feathers were considered by the Cherokee as their highest token of esteem and strongest pledge of sincerity and good faith and thus constituted a

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[5]John Witthoft (1946b:376, 1949:57-60) has suggested that the Cherokee Eagle Dance of the historic period was derived from a Plains calumet ritual and that the Cherokee eagle feather wands might represent the calumet stems, the highly ornamented wooden pipe stems used in such Plains ceremonials.

part of the ritual ceremony carried out in the welcoming of foreign dignitaries, negotiation of peace treaties, and confirmation and/or renewal of friendships (Cheves 1894:329,332; Corkran 1962:269; Hamer 1931:111; Hicks in Swanton 1979:772; McDowell 1970:125; Mereness 1916:101,110; Mooney 1900a:35,368,453; Public Record Office 1725, 1730; Speck and Broom 1951:39-44; Williams 1927:63-65,103, 1928:97,126,129,135,136,137,139,143, 1930:32,176-177; Witthoft 1946b:376). The chief visitor was placed in a holy chair in the public square and fanned with eagle tail feathers. This was followed by an exhibition of the Eagle Dance (Mereness 1916:101,110; Public Record Office 1725; Williams 1928:97,126, 1930:176-177). Eagle tails were also sometimes fastened to the long wooden stems of Cherokee stone pipes smoked during peace and/or friendship ceremonies (McDowell 1958:491).

The dance and the use of the bird's feathers were, at times, symbolic of triumph and courage. The Victory (or Scalp) Dance, part of the Eagle Dance, was performed as a war rite. The dancers consisted exclusively of warriors, who each held a feather wand in the right hand and, in times of war, a scalp in the left. During the various movements, they each, in turn, recounted and acted out their war exploits (Evans n.d.:19-21; Hicks in Swanton 1979:772; Klinck and Talman 1970:47,115,147,148,157-158; Speck and Broom 1951:44,64).

The feathers could be simultaneously emblematic of both victory and peace. When the six Cherokee chiefs visited London in 1730, they presented to the English King their crown accompanied by four human scalps and five eagle tails, thereby representing both triumph over their enemies and a desire for friendship as well as recognition of His Majesty's sovereignty (Grant 1909:55; Public Record Office 1730; Williams 1928:126,129,136,139,143).

Eagle feathers were also associated with individuals possessing power and/or prestige. A wand made out of an eagle tail was presented to the high priest **Uku** at his consecration ceremony (Butrick n.d.b:36) and was used to fan him at the septennial **Uku** Dance (Butrick n.d.b:56,269; Payne n.d.:86). When dyed red, such plumes constituted a part of the ceremonial dress for persons involved in warfare and the ball play. The great war chief wore an eagle feather in his hair as a badge of distinction, and his seven councilors and the great war speaker ornamented themselves with two smaller ones (Butrick n.d.a:70-71,72-73,74, n.d.b:41). Warriors and ball players fastened a plume (unpainted) from the right wing of an eagle, raven, or hawk (one of several kinds) to the tuft of hair on the crown of their head. To the end of this feather were tied large feathers (dyed red) taken from the tail of an eagle or mountain hawk (Butrick n.d.b:175,256,257) (see Hawk and Raven). For ball players, wearing eagle feathers as a hair

ornament was intended to endow them with acute vision (Mooney 1890b:122) and as a "tail" pendant (suspended from the rear of a helt) served as an emhlem of strength (Speck and Broom 1951:55,57). Moreover, eagle feather pendants ornamented the gourd rattles (musical instruments) used to accompany the Ball Players' Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:57).

Hawks **tawodi**, also diurnal hirds of prey, were symbolic of strength too (Mooney 1900a:286; Speck and Broom 1951:57) and were often associated with the ball play and warfare. For the former, the shaman took the contestants to water and prayed to the Hawk (Mooney 1890b:126), especially the great mythical hawk **Sanuwa**, as a means of ensuring a victory in the game (Mooney 1890b:127, 1891:395-397). Moreover, the quill of a large hawk feather served as one of the raw materials for the manufacture of scarification implements used in the preparation of ball players for the game (Speck and Broom 1951:57), and hawk feather pendants ornamented the gourd rattles (musical instruments) used to accompany the Ball Players' Dance (Speck and Broom 1951:22,57). Ball players and warriors wore the feathers of certain hawks as part of their ceremonial dress. A plume (unpainted) from the right wing of a mountain (red-tailed) hawk **tawodlegwa**, sparrow hawk **gigi**, or chicken hawk **digatohnvhida**, as well as an eagle or raven, was fastened to the tuft of hair on the crown of their head. To the end of this feather were tied large feathers (dyed red) taken from the tail of a mountain

hawk or eagle (Butrick n.d.b:175,256,257) (see Eagle and Raven). Ball players sometimes also wore hawk feathers as a "tail" pendant (suspended from the rear of a belt), serving as an emblem of strength (Speck and Broom 1951:55,57).

Hawks played a relatively negligible role in the mythology with the exception of the great mythical hawk **Sanuwa** (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:437-438; Lanman 1849:390-391; Mooney 1900a:284,315-316; Ten Kate 1889:55; Witthoft 1946b:375). This immense bird was a swift and strong flyer (Mooney 1900a:286,315,466) and thus was invoked on behalf of the ball players (Mooney 1890b:127, 1891:395-397), who wore its red-dyed feathers (Butrick n.d.b:256,257) (these were probably from the **sanuwa usdi**). Plumes from the **Sanuwa**'s right wing were considered especially sacred (Mooney 1900a:316,396). The **Sanuwa** was known to carry off young children for its food (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:437; Lanman 1849:390; Mooney 1885:116, 1900a:315; Ten Kate 1889:55), and, at one time, a mother **Sanuwa** captured a hunter to watch over her young ones. According to one version, the man was poorly fed by the parent bird (Witthoft 1946b:375) and finally escaped (Mooney 1900a:316; Witthoft 1946b:375). This tale was reflected in the proverbial expression **Sanuwa uwohla** 'the great hawk is at home,' which the Cherokee used in reference to a miserly or inhospitable person (Mooney 1900a:466; Williams 1930:18; Witthoft 1946b:375-376).

The **Sanuwa** was a mortal enemy of the **Uktena**, thereby representing the conflict between the Upper and Under Worlds, respectively. This hostility was demonstrated in one story in which several young **Sanuwa** fledglings were consumed by an **Uktena**, and their parents, upon returning to the nest, tore the serpent into pieces (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:437-438; Mooney 1900a:315-316). Following this event, the two adult birds disappeared and have never been seen since by the Cherokee (Mooney 1900a:316; Ten Kate 1889:55).

The pigeon hawk **sanuwa usdi**, probably the model upon which the mythical hawk was based, was the smaller counterpart of the **Sanuwa** (Mooney 1900a:284,466) and was also considered a swift bird (Witthoft 1946b:375). It frequently flew over flocks of wild pigeons and, when hungry, preyed upon them by striking one with its sharp breast bone and eating its victim upon the wing (Mooney 1900a:284,466). This characteristic behavior was mimicked in the Pigeon Dance in which a man with his body painted red and arms brown, thereby representing the Pigeon Hawk, charged at the line of dancers (pigeons) and grabbed one of them as prey (Speck and Broom 1951:72-73; Witthoft 1946b:375).

A number of additional hawks were mentioned in the sacred formulas. The Rabbit Hawk **digatisgi** and an unidentified type of hawk **giyagiya** were invoked to cure a children's disease characterized by nervousness and

troubled sleep (worms) and ascribed to birds in general (Mooney 1891:355-356; Witthoft 1946b:375,377). The former bird was also called upon to counteract any mischief caused by the Rabbit (Mooney 1891:341), and the **giyagiya** was implored in a nonmedicinal formula intended to separate lovers (Mooney 1891:381-382).

The buzzard, or turkey vulture, **suli**, another diurnal predator, played a role in shaping the earth at the time of creation and was responsible for the numerous mountains present in the Cherokee country (Davis 1910:27; Mooney 1900a:239,284). It formerly was a very handsome bird, who wore a fine crest and fed only upon freshly killed meat; the other birds, with the help of the Buffalo, devised a scheme, whereby the Buzzard lost not only all its head feathers, thereby becoming bald, but also its pride so that it was reduced to eating decayed carcasses, or spoiled flesh (Mooney 1900a:284,293; Witthoft 1946a:179-180, 1946b:377). In several other stories, however, its feathers were burned off its head and neck in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Davis 1910:28; Kilpatrick 1966:188; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:386). For this reason, the Cherokee, especially ball players, did not wear buzzard plumes nor were such feathers used in filling pillows for fear that baldness might result (Mooney 1900a:284; Speck and Broom 1951:93-94) (see Turkey).

The buzzard was regarded as a doctor among birds, and, because of the nature of its food, i.e., carrion, and its

offensive odor, it possessed a power over or immunity from contagious diseases and was believed to ward off disease spirits (Mooney 1891:334, 1900a:266,284; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:76,273; Witthoft 1946b:377). Buzzard feathers served as charms and were placed over the doorway in every house. During epidemics, its entire carcass was hung up, and, at times, its blood was drunk as another preventive measure (Mooney 1900a:266; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:76; Witthoft 1946b:377); moreover, consumption of its flesh was believed to provide immunity from smallpox (Mooney 1891:334, 1900a:284). (See Skunk.) In a ceremony performed to avert such diseases, a buzzard's feather was laid over the caldron in which a herbal decoction was being prepared (Butrick n.d.b:104; Payne n.d.:113). This bird's feathers were also prescribed for treating a bullet or arrow wound: A tube was prepared from a buzzard quill through which medicine (hickory [Carya spp.] bark) was blown onto the injury, which was then dressed with some buzzard down (Mooney 1900a:284; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:72,271-273; Witthoft 1946b:377). Finally, the Buzzard, as an animal spirit, was a curative agent, being called upon, along with the Otter and Wolf, to heal a cut in the flesh (Butrick n.d.b:333) and, along with the Eagle and Raven, to remedy a kind of "yellow navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:294-296).

Owls, nocturnal predators, were ascribed mysterious occult, or supernatural, powers and were generally

considered of evil portent (Mooney 1900a:284; Witthoft 1946a:180, 1946b:379). They were believed to be the embodiment of a human ghost or one of the various disguises assumed by witches (Butrick n.d.a:54; Mooney 1900a: 284,495). An owl hooting within a town signified the approach of an enemy (Butrick n.d.a:58) and within close proximity to a particular household presaged sickness or death (Mooney 1900a:284; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37; Witthoft 1946a:180).

Three kinds of owls were recognized: screech **wahuhi**, great horned **tsgili**, and hooting, or barred, **uguku** (Mooney 1885:118, 1900a:283-284,456). Their uncanny appearance (peculiarity of their eyes) and nocturnal habits were regarded with curious concern and fear (Mooney 1900a:495). The uniqueness of their eyes was the result of physical alterations that occurred in their futile attempt to obtain the first fire; the screech owl's eyes became red when burnt by the hot air surrounding the flame, and those of the horned and hooting owls developed white rings from the windblown ashes (Davis 1910:28, 1937:30; Mooney 1900a:241). Furthermore, because of their ability to remain awake the first seven nights of creation, they were given the power to see and be active at night (nocturnal), thereby enabling them to prey upon other birds and mammals for sustenance (Davis 1910:42, 1937:18; Mooney 1900a:240) (see Panther and Wolf). Consequently, a child whose eyes were bathed with water in which an owl wing or tail feather, found by

chance, had been previously soaked, would be able to stay awake throughout the night (Mooney 1900a:284).

Owls were sometimes associated with warfare. Their skin was worn and their characteristic cry mocked by one of the four men serving as scouts, or spies, on war expeditions, whose task was to locate the enemy (Butrick n.d.a:75,79, n.d.b:73) (see Wolf, Fox, and Raven).

The hooting owl appeared in one myth in which it changed itself into a man and married a young woman. When she had learned of his origin, however, he left, ashamed, running off into the woods, where he pined away with grief until his body, except the head, was devoid of flesh (Mooney 1900a:291-292,456; Witthoft 1946b:379). The screech owl was often a messenger of future events. On a war expedition, if it appeared to the right or left, the warriors would be victorious over their enemies; if it went before or behind them, however, and continuously cried, they retreated for fear of defeat (Corkran 1969:46,47). Furthermore, it forecasted death whenever it made some uncommon noise (Butrick n.d.a:58) or perched near a house, particularly that of a sick person (Corkran 1969:46,47; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:133). Both the hooting and screech owls were held responsible for a children's disease characterized by nervousness and troubled sleep (worms), and the shaman effected a cure to drive these birds back to their natural haunts, i.e., spruce and laurel thickets,

respectively (Mooney 1891:353-355) (see Rabbit). The great horned owl was the most dreaded of birds. It was believed to be a metamorphosed witch, who stole the lives of weak or sick people in order to prolong its own (Witthoft 1946a:180, 1946b:379).

The nighthawk **galsdoga** and the whip-poor-will **waguli**, like owls, were also nocturnal birds and were noted for their night cries, which, if heard within the proximity of someone's house, were a portent of sickness or death (Butrick n.d.a:58; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37; Witthoft 1946a:180, 1946b:379). The whip-poor-will, a highly disliked bird (Witthoft 1946b:379), was considered a disguised witch (Butrick n.d.a:58; Witthoft 1946a:180, 1946b:379). It was described as a hideous-looking creature and was never killed (Witthoft 1946b:379).

The turkey **gvna**, a ground-dwelling bird, was the largest and most important of the avian fauna hunted by the Cherokee. This was symbolized by the fact that it led all the other wild birds out of a cave in the cosmogonic story concerning the origin of game (Mooney 1888:100, 1900a:243).

According to the mythology, the Turkey acquired some of its distinctive attributes as a result of several incidents. Its "beard," or vaneless neck feathers, was actually a scalp that it seized from the Terrapin. The Terrapin, being slow-footed and thus incapable of running after the Turkey to retrieve its possession, used its conjuring powers and, in revenge, shot some cane splints

into the bird's legs. Consequently, the Turkey now has many useless bones in its legs (Davis 1910:34, 1937:9-10; Mooney 1900a:287-288). In another version, the "beard" was a necklace originally owned by the Terrapin's wife for which the Turkey traded some valueless beads (Witthoft 1946a:179, 1946b:378). The Turkey obtained its gobble in attempting to demonstrate its vocal abilities after having taken some voice lessons from the Ruffed Grouse; it became so excited that it rendered a meek gobble rather than a loud halloo (Davis 1910:40; Mooney 1900a:288) (see Ruffed Grouse). Several stories involved interaction with the prankster Rabbit. On one occasion, the Rabbit shifted the predatory intentions of the Bobcat onto a flock of turkeys (Mooney 1900a:269-270), and, in another, the Rabbit convinced two turkeys to set it free when it became trapped in a hollow sycamore stump (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:410).

Certain taboos pertaining to the turkey were widely observed. Children and sick individuals were not allowed to eat its neck nor were ball players permitted to wear its feathers for fear that they would develop "kernels," i.e., goiter (Mooney 1900a:285); scrofulous[6] patients were forbidden to consume its meat since this disease too resembled the bird's red throat appendage (Mooney 1890a:48,

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[6]Goiter refers to an enlargement of the thyroid gland, whereas scrofula is defined as tuberculosis of the lymph nodes, epecially those in the neck. Both of these ailments are manifested as a swelling of the front of the neck.

1891:323,349). Furthermore, the Cherokee did not wear turkey plumes or use them in filling pillows for fear that baldness might result (Speck and Broom 1951:93-94) (see Buzzard).

The relative importance of the turkey in comparison to other native fowl was demonstrated by the hunting lore associated with its procurement. The turkey hunter wore a decoy mask resembling a bobcat made of moss (Hypnum curvifolium Hedwig) and leaves, or woodchuck hide (Speck and Broom 1951:92), or leather with bobcat fur and horse hair trimmings (Speck and Broom 1951:86, plate VIII; Witthoft 1946b:377-378) and sung certain formulas in order to call forth the bird (Speck and Broom 1951:92-93; Witthoft 1946b:377). In addition, the hunter imitated the turkey's gobble by means of a decoy call, which was usually a small tube made from its wing or leg bone (Speck and Broom 1951:92; Witthoft 1946b:378) or, at times, was a a slip of cane (Arundinaria gigantea [Walter] Muhlenberg) or bone inserted in a corncob and pulled across a piece of shale (Witthoft 1946b:378). The Turkey Dance, one in a series of animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s), was mimetic of the movements of the hunter as well as those of the turkey (Klinck and Talman 1970:70).

Various parts of the turkey were essential components in the performance of certain Cherokee rituals. Its meat was consumed at major feasts, particularly those held during the annual religious festivals (Butrick n.d.b:186;

Payne n.d.:51). Its feathers were attached to two wooden handles to form fans, which were waved over the "King" at his inauguration ceremony (De Vorsey 1971:111), this ceremony usually occurring at the Green Corn Festival(s) (Corkran 1969:22,23; De Vorsey 1971:111). Cockspurs were fastened to warriors' hoots and mocassins (Williams 1930:179) and to the long wooden stems of their war pipes (Williams 1930:8). The thigh hone, as a surgical implement, was used hy the shaman to hlow medicines onto the body and/or into the throat of a patient (Witthoft 1946b:378). The skin of the gizzard was tightly stretched over the narrower opening of the sucking horn, another medical instrument (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:73, plate 7,g). Both the bones and feathers served as raw material for the manufacture of a scarification implement used in the preparation of ball players for the game. This comh-like device consisted of seven teeth made from the sharpened splinters of a turkey wing or leg bone, which were set into a rectangular frame formed from a turkey quill (Mooney 1890b:121, 1891:334; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:68-69, plate 7,d,i; Speck and Broom 1951:55,57).

Two other ground-dwelling gallinaceous birds were also mentioned: the pheasant, or ruffed grouse, **tvdasdi**, and the quail, or partridge, or bobwhite, **guhgwe.** The former was noted for its drumming sound, which it acquired by once imitating a woman heating corn in a mortar (Davis 1910:45; Mooney 1900a:290). It had a fine voice and received its

collar of feathers in exchange for giving voice lessons to the Turkey (Davis 1910:40; Mooney 1900a:288) (see Turkey). The Pheasant Dance, one in a series of animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s), was mimetic of the bird's characteristic drumming, as represented by the dancers beating the ground with their feet. According to the mythology, this dance originated during a time of famine when the Pheasant, upon discovering a holly (Ilex spp.) tree with red berries, led its companion birds in a song and dance around it (Mooney 1900a:290). Several taboos regarding pheasant meat were mentioned. It was forbidden to pregnant women for fear that the child would not live, as most of this bird's large brood never reached maturity (Mooney 1900a:285; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:120); some women even observed this taboo until past childbearing years (Mooney 1900a:285). In a similar vein, a pregnant cat eating the meat or entrails of a pheasant would lose the kittens within her (Witthoft 1946b:377).

The Bobwhite had a fine whistle, which it took away from the Terrapin (Davis 1910:34, 1937:8; Mooney 1900a:289; Witthoft 1946a:178-179, 1946b:377) (see Terrapin). The Partridge Dance represented an imitation of this bird's movements (Speck and Broom 1951:73-74).

The raven **kolana**, a large strong-billed passerine, or perching, bird, acquired its black color in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Davis 1910:28; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:386; Mooney 1900a:241). It was

associated with the Raven Mocker, a metamorphosed witch that was greatly dreaded and that, in its invisible disguise, preyed upon sick and dying persons. Upon killing its victim, the Raven Mocker would steal and eat the heart, thereby adding to its own life the time remaining that the person might have lived (Mooney 1900a:283,401-403; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:30; Witthoft 1946b:381).

In the medicinal realm, the Raven was a curative agent and was invoked by the shaman for healing several types of ailments (Williams 1930:182), including snakebite (Butrick n.d.b:333), "yellow navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:294-296), and a "simulator" disease manifested by sharp pains attributed to an object implanted in the victim's body (witchcraft) (Mooney 1891:366-369; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:171-173). It was also solicited in a scratching ceremony carried out when treating local pains, muscular cramps, and twitching, which were attributed to vengeful deer ghosts; the reason that the raven was invoked was because this bird fed upon the waste products left by the hunter after cutting up the game (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:205-208). In the recitation of most of these formulas, the shaman mimicked the raven's croaking voice and movements (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:207,296; Williams 1930:182). Regarding nonmedicinal sacred formulas, particularly those concerning hunting, the Raven was often addressed as **Kanati**, the mythical hunter and keeper of the game (Mooney 1891:370).

The raven was frequently associated with warfare, and its name was sometimes used as an honorary title for the great war chief (Butrick n.d.a:63, n.d.b:72; Mooney 1900a:283). On war expeditions, this individual always wore a raven skin fastened about his neck (Butrick n.d.a:63,74, n.d.b:42,72) and, in addition, when serving as a scout, or spy, imitated the bird's cry (Butrick n.d.a:75,79, n.d.b:73) (see Wolf, Fox, and Owl). The title of **Kolana** was also bestowed upon a warrior who distinguished himself in war (Butrick n.d.a:74; Williams 1927:94) and an individual who killed an eagle and returned with its tail (Mooney 1900a:453; Williams 1927:103; Witthoft 1946b:381), the latter action being analogous to bringing in the scalp of an enemy (Mooney 1900a:453; Williams 1930:32). Finally, warriors and ball players fastened a plume (unpainted) from a raven's right wing to the tuft of hair on the crown of their head (Butrick n.d.b:175) (see Eagle and Hawk).

Piscivorous, or fish-eating, birds were important in certain aspects of recorded oral traditions. They were invoked in the medicinal sacred formulas whenever a malady was attributed to a fish (Mooney 1891:341, 1900a:307).

The crane, or heron, **gajedali**, or **kanasgowa**, was regarded as a funny, awkward-looking bird because of its lean body, long legs, and spear-like bill and therefore was asked to lead a dance intended to amuse a very sad woman (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:403-404). In a fairly

popular myth, it challenged the handsome Hummingbird to a race for the hand of a pretty maiden. Although the Crane won, the woman refused to marry such an ugly bird and decided to remain single instead (Davis 1910:43-44, 1937:22-24; Mooney 1900a:290-291,455). Regarding folk beliefs, dreams of seeing a crane on the ground or flying low were an omen of death (Butrick n.d.a:54,88).

The fish hawk, or osprey, **kanvjuhwa**, was the only piscivorous hird that plunged feetfirst into the water, seizing its fish prey with its strong talons. Certain parts of this bird were used in the preparation of medicinal drinks for treating tuberculosis patients. One such cure consisted of fat from a fish hawk's throat mixed with bear oil, and, in another, a primary feather from the bird's right wing was burned, powdered, and steeped in water (Witthoft 1946b:377).

The kingfisher **jatla** was noted for its manner of darting from the air headfirst into the water and plucking up fish in its long sharp bill. It was given its fine heak by the other animals in order that it could make a living by fishing for food (Mooney 1900a:288); according to another version, its bill was a reward from the Little People for heroically using a darter **dugalvlna** (spear-shaped fish) as a lance for killing a Blacksnake preying upon a Yellowhammer's nest (Mooney 1900a:288-289; Witthoft 1946b:380).

The fish hawk and kingfisher appeared together in several sacred formulas. They were addressed by the fisherman in a prayer recited to ensure a successful catch (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:403; Witthoft 1946b:380). Both were referred to as "penetrators" because of their ability to seize and hold their prey and were frequently solicited in the medicinal sacred formulas to pull out a disease (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:267; Witthoft 1946b:380). The two birds collaborated in curing a kind of "navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:190-192) and also were invoked, along with other "penetrators" such as the Otter and Mink, for removing "pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy) caused by a magically placed object in the victim's body (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:265-267). In several other prayers, the Kingfisher was called upon, in addition to the Otter, Weasel, and Mink, for treating "breast aches" implanted by a ghost (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:271) and, by itself, for healing "eaters," a urinary or kidney disease caused by the Frog and Chat (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:178-180).

The white crane **unega gajedali**, or **tsgwoyi**, most likely the bird referred to as "swan," was probably the great egret (Mooney 1900a:284) and served as a symbol of power, prestige, and/or war. Its white wing was carried by the Beloved Woman as a token of her authority, which included absolute power in decisions pertaining to the punishment of captives. She had the supreme right to

revoke the death penalty and, by merely waving her badge, could halt the execution of an individual already condemned to death and tied at the stake (McClary 1962:357; Williams 1927:94).

Egret feathers constituted an essential part of the ceremonial dress of certain prestigious and/or powerful individuals. At his inauguration, the "King" wore a cap, or crown, decorated with such feathers (Butrick n.d.b:57-58) and carried an egret's wing in his right hand (De Vorsey 1971:112). Warriors, when being awarded a new title (higher rank), received a crown ornamented with long egret feathers that, at the lower end, surrounded their temples, i.e., the "swan feather-cap" (Williams 1930:176,426, 427,436). The Beloved Woman wore a knee-length skirt of woven feathers embellished along the bottom edges with down plucked from the egret's breast (Tucker 1969:194). Ball players too used these plumes as articles of adornment (Mooney 1900a:284).

Egret feathers were used in the performance of certain rituals, particularly those involved in the preparation of the sacred black drink, or physic, a beverage made from the parched leaves and twigs of yaupon (Ilex vomitoria William Aiton) (Bartram 1853:23; Harper 1958:227,285,466; Hudson 1975:94, 1979; Williams 1927:101). Its wing was waved over a large caldron containing this decoction while certain prayers were recited. This ceremonial act was carried out at the Propitiation/Cementation Festival, or Physic Dance

(Butrick n.d.b:211; Payne n.d.:72; Williams 1927:100), and in purifying warriors embarking upon an expedition (Tucker 1969:194). Egret feathers also constituted a part of the ritual paraphernalia used in a rain ceremony performed in times of drought (Payne n.d.:120,121).

The egret might have been somewhat associated with warfare. The war-song, also known as the "swan-song," was sung by a captured prisoner while tied at the stake and consisted of a recitation of his war-like deeds (Williams 1930:418). The bird's long thigh bone served as a war trumpet (Butrick n.d.a:80, n.d.b:50,309) and was blown by the great war chief prior to battle (Butrick n.d.a:80). Its wing feathers, when painted red and black, symbolized blood and death, i.e., war (Williams 1930:268).

A number of insectivorous birds were also mentioned at times. Several of these were noted for their speed and agility of flight and therefore formed an integral part of certain beliefs and rituals associated with the ball play and warfare. The purple martin **dludlu**, in the mythical ball game between the four-footed animals and the birds, helped the bird team win and, in turn, was rewarded with a gourd in which to construct its nest (Mooney 1900a:287,454-455); its feathers, painted red, were worn by ball players during the game (Butrick n.d.b:256,257). Similarly, a certain plume from the left wing of the chimney swift **anigosdayi** adorned the hair of ball players and warriors so they would acquire speed (Witthoft 1946b:379). The wood

pewee **henilu** was mentioned and imitated in one of the songs chanted during the Ball Players' Dance in reference to its swiftness and visual accuracy, which enabled it to seize insects while in flight (Speck and Broom 1951:59). These three birds as well as the Great Crested Flycatcher **gulisguli** were addressed by the shaman when taking the ball players to water as a means of ensuring a victory in the game (Mooney 1890b:127-128, 1891:395-397). Furthermore, the feathers of several of these swift-darting birds were used by the contestants as ornaments in their hair or upon their ball sticks (Mooney 1890b:116).

Another insectivorous bird was the scissor-tailed flycatcher **judigwanujugi**, well known for preying upon hornets and their larvae. It was believed to be a metamorphosed redhorse fish **oliga** as both possessed red spots and long forked tails (Mooney 1900a:285) (see Redhorse Fish).

A few insectivorous birds mentioned in recorded oral traditions were noted as waders, usually inhabiting marshes and having extremely long slender bills and very long legs. They included the sandpiper **ganvsdawa**, large snipe **guwisguwi**, and snipe **jagosda**. These birds were invoked in several medicinal sacred formulas for removing intestinal worms **ujiya** (Mooney 1891:341; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:213-215,247-249) (see Swan and Blue Goose).

Minor birds

A number of additional birds, aquatic as well as terrestrial, also occurred in Cherokee recorded oral traditions. Nevertheless, they played a relatively minor role.

Waterfowl included several kinds of swimming birds. Feathers of the goose **sasa** and duck **kawonu** were associated with the ball play: Goose feathers were worn either as a "tail" pendant (suspended from the rear of a belt) or in the hair of the swiftest player, and the quill of a duck plume, also a symbol of speed of flight, constituted a part of a rattlesnake scarification implement used in the preparation of ball players for the game (Speck and Broom 1951:55,57). The blue goose **dagalga** appeared in one version of the cosmogonic myth regarding the origin of tobacco in which it stole the only extant tobacco plant (Mooney 1900a:254-255,284,439) (see Mole and Hummingbird). It was invoked, in one medicinal sacred formula, for pulling out insects/worms causing a gangrene-like sore (Butrick n.d.b:333) and, in another, for removing intestinal worms **ujiya** (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:247-249). The Swan **udli** was also addressed in the latter formula, which was the only reference made to this bird in recorded oral traditions (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:247-249) (see Sandpiper and Large Snipe). The mud-hen, or didapper, **digagwani**, another water bird, was noted for its characteristic head-pumping while swimming (bouncing,

possibly suggesting difficulty in movement) (Mooney 1900a:515), and/or its habit of flying very short distances at a time with its legs dangling (Mooney 1885:120, 1900a:284). In the Mud-Hen Dance, the performers sang the name of the bird while mimicking its behavior (Mooney 1900a:284,515).

A number of terrestrial birds were also mentioned at times in recorded oral traditions. They included those inhabiting wooded as well as open areas.

The killdeer **josdowa** served as a curative agent for several ailments. This bird was called upon for healing heartburn (Butrick n.d.b:332) and, because of its yellowish rump, certain kinds of "yellow navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:180-182,264-265; Witthoft 1946b:378).

The woodcock **galvsahyoha** was petitioned to remove the pain from a toothache and was mocked in a prayer for treating sore eyes (Butrick n.d.b:331). In an historical tale, a warrior transformed himself into this bird in order to escape from enemies (Mooney 1900a:394).

The pigeon **woyi** figured in one short story in which it found a region abounding in food resources to which the birds and four-footed animals migrated when there was a great mast famine in the mountains (Mooney 1900a:280). A flock of these birds was often seen accompanied by the Pigeon Hawk (Mooney 1900a:284,466; Witthoft 1946b:375), and, in the Pigeon Dance, a man impersonating the Pigeon Hawk charged at the line of dancers (pigeons) and grabbed one

of them as prey (Speck and Broom 1951:72-73; Witthoft 1946b:375) (see Pigeon Hawk). This dance was one in a series of animal dances performed at the Green Corn Festival(s) (Corkran 1969:24,25; Speck and Broom 1951:52). Another Pigeon Dance described was a pantomime in which the performers imitated the taking of pigeons at roost (Williams 1927:103). In regard to medicinal beliefs, the Pigeon was invoked, along with the Goldfinch, in a number of sacred formulas for curing several kinds of "navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:186,189,190-192). The mourning dove, or turtle dove, **gule disgohnihi**, on the other hand, was only mentioned in reference to its occasional occurrence as an effigy figure sculptured on Cherokee stone pipes (Williams 1928:457-458).

The hummingbird **walela** played an important role in the cosmogonic myth regarding the origin of tobacco. Due to its diminutive size and swiftness of flight, it was able to surreptitiously retrieve the only extant tobacco plant, an essential materia medica, or pharmacopoeia (Mooney 1891, 1900a:439; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932), thereby saving the lives of several ailing individuals and ensuring its abundance among the Cherokee ever since (Lanman 1849:429; Mooney 1900a:254-255,438,439); in one version of this story, the tobacco plant had heen stolen by the Blue Goose (Mooney 1900a:254-255,284,439) (see Blue Goose). A fairly popular myth described how this handsome bird was challenged by the Crane to a race for the hand of a pretty

maiden and lost (Davis 1910:43-44, 1937:22-24; Mooney 1900a:290-291,455) (see Crane).

Several kinds of woodpeckers were mentioned in Cherokee folklore. The red-headed woodpecker **dalala** was a swift and powerful bird and therefore served as a war symbol (Speck and Broom 1951:59; Witthoft 1946b:380). It was frequently associated with the hall play in which a man who was a good whooper was selected to play the role of **Dalala** (Speck and Broom 1951:58-59). This person rendered four loud yells, imitative of the hird's tapping on a dead tree trunk, both during the Ball Players' Dance in order to frighten the opposing team and also on the day of the game to announce the approach of the contestants (Mooney 1890b:119,120-121). The yellow-bellied sapsucker **julilena**, another red-headed woodpecker, was formerly an old woman who was deaf (Witthoft 1946a:178, 1946b:380). The pileated woodpecker, or wood hen, **gvgwoga** was considered lazy and stupid (Witthoft 1946h:380). In one short story, a woman found out that she was married to such a bird (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:426). The yellowhammer **unegada** occurred in one myth in which a group of young nestlings was swallowed by a Blacksnake, who, in turn, was killed by the Kingfisher (Mooney 1900a:288-289) (see Kingfisher).

The yellow-billed cuckoo, or rain crow, **daluga** was generally regarded with disdain because of its rather unpleasant call (Mooney 1891:378). In one love formula,

the suitor likened his rivals to this bird (Mooney 1891:375-378).

Passerine, or perching, birds appeared in recorded oral traditions, particularly in the mythology. The crow **koga**, a rather large and chunky bird, acquired its black color in its futile attempt to obtain the first fire (Davis 1937:29-30; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:386). In a wonder story, two crows were placed as guards over the captive mythical gambler Brass and frightened away the beavers gnawing at the grapevine that confined him (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:397; Mooney 1900a:314-315). The winter wren **jiji** only appeared in one tale in which it won a contest for flying higher than all the other birds (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:402-403). The wren was noted as a messenger for the birds and visited every household in order to bring back any important information, especially regarding the arrival of a newborn baby (Mooney 1900a:401).

The chickadee, or tomtit, **jigilili** and tufted titmouse **ujugi**, or **usdidi**, two other little passerine birds that were often associated together, were also considered news bringers; the former, however, was a truth teller, and the latter, distinguished by its crest, was a lying messenger (Mooney 1885:119, 1900a:285-286,318-319; Witthoft 1946a:177-178, 1946b:381). These traditional beliefs stemmed from the story of the mythical character Spear-Finger, the liver eater, in which a number of hunters were assisted by the

two birds in order to kill this ogress. The Titmouse misinformed them regarding the location of the demon's only vulnerable part, and, as a consequence, the hunters cut off its tongue as a punishment; the Chickadee, on the other hand, perched upon the site of the demon's "heart," or awl finger, so that the hunters were able to fatally wound this monster (Mooney 1900a:318-319; Speck and Broom 1951:16; Ten Kate 1889:54; Terrell 1892:126; Witthoft 1946a:177-178, 1946b:381-382). Thus the chickadee was considered an honest messenger, and, if perched near a house and chirping, it was foretelling the arrival of either an absent friend (Mooney 1900a:286,319,468; Witthoft 1946b:381) or a stranger (Butrick n.d.a:57, n.d.b:252; Witthoft 1946b:381), or the approach of an enemy (Corkran 1969:44,45; Mooney 1900a:286). This last circumstance was also indicated when the chickadee sang over a warriors' camp during a war expedition (Corkran 1969:44,45; Williams 1930:409).

Two other small passerine birds were also noted for their foreboding songs. The towhee **jawisga**, a mean little bird that was detrimental to young corn crops for its habit of pulling sprouts (Witthoft 1946b:383-384), had a call that, when sung loud and rapidly, signified the approach of an enemy (Butrick n.d.a:58, n.d.b:132). The song of the bluebird **jagwolide** forecasted the coming of a storm (Butrick n.d.a:58, n.d.b:252).

A few passerines were occasionally mentioned. The yellow-breasted chat, or yellow mockingbird, **huhu** was noted

for its great imitative powers, and its heart was given to children to expedite the learning process (Mooney 1900a:285,456). It first appeared in the spring at plowing time (Witthoft 1946b:382). In one popular myth, the chat changed itself into a man and married a young woman. When she had learned of his origin, however, she sent him away to the swamps, where this bird has lived ever since (Mooney 1900a:292-293; Witthoft 1946a:178, 1946b:382). The Chat, along with the Frog, both yellowish in color, was considered the cause of "eaters," a urinary or kidney disease (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:178-180) (see Frog).

The redbird, or cardinal, **tojuhwa** was a metamorphosed form of the daughter of the Sun (Davis 1910:31, 1937:37; Mooney 1900a:254,285; Witthoft 1946b:383). It acquired its red color as a reward for removing dung plastered on the Wolf's eyes by the Raccoon (Mooney 1900a:289-290). The blue jay **dlayhga** was used in several ritual practices. One of its feathers, found by chance, was soaked in water that was then used to bathe the eyes of a child so that it would be an early riser (Mooney 1900a:284). Also, this hird was killed and a piece of meat from its right hreast sacrificed after a patient with cramps was cured (Butrick n.d.b:330). Both the redhird and hlue jay as well as the chimney swift were mentioned in several love formulas sung by a suitor in order to win the affection of a young maiden (Witthoft 1946b:379-380).

The snowbird, or junco, **tuti** was considered a rather insignificant bird. It was used as a scapegoat, being always blamed whenever an eagle was slain. The figurative expression "a snowbird has been killed" was stated by the eagle killer after having completed his task so as to avoid offending and to ensure against vengeance by the eagles (Mooney 1891:352, 1900a:283,453) (see Eagle).

The goldfinch, or flaxbird, **wadaga** was known for frequenting patches of thistles and weeds (Witthoft 1946b:383). Because of its bright yellow color, it was invoked as a healing agent for three different kinds of "navel" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:186,189,190-192).

The meadowlark **nokwsi**, an inhabitant of grassy areas, was the last of the passerines mentioned. It played a role in one folktale in which it used its long feet to save a female bird's eggs from being destroyed in a wheat field (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:401-402).

Ambiguities/Anomalies

A number of animals did not neatly fit within the tripartite scheme--Under, Middle or This, or Upper World --constituting the Cherokee view of the universe and were probably considered either ambiguous or anomalous. Ambiguous creatures exhibited criterial attributes of more than one major animal class simultaneously and thus obliterated the boundaries among the three major realms.

Anomalous creatures, on the other hand, manifested certain combinations of morphological and, at times, behavioral features quite different from those that typically define the animals associated with the three major worlds and, therefore, were possibly not subsumed within but rather perceived as separate from this classificatory system.

Ambiguities

Under/Middle Worlds. The terrapin, or box turtle, **daksi**, a terrestrial animal, was an ambiguous creature since all other turtles in the Cherokee country were found in water habitats. In the myths, it was grouped with the terrestrial four-footed animals (Middle, or This, World) and was a prominent member of this team in the mythical ball game (Davis 1910:40-41, 1937:25; Mooney 1900a:286-287); in the sacred formulas, however, it was noted as a cousin of the Water Turtle (Mooney 1891:365,366) and was therefore lumped with other cold-blooded creatures, such as fish and snakes (Under World) (Mooney 1891:366; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:21,252).

The Terrapin played a significant role in the mythology. It had the reputation of being a powerful warrior (Davis 1910:33, 1937:5,25; Mooney 1900a:270,286, 287,306) (because of its hard shell, which probably served as a shield of armor), wise councilor (Davis 1910:33), and mighty conjuror (Davis 1910:33,34,37, 1937:5,9-10,14; Mooney 1900a:279,287,288) and of possessing a boastful disposition (Davis 1910:33; Mooney 1900a:270,286,287).

A cunning creature, the Terrapin devised a scheme by which it outsmarted and defeated the Rabbit (Davis 1910:33, 1937:5-7; Mooney 1900a:270-271) or, in some versions, the Wolf (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:407-408) or Deer (Lanman 1849:443) in a race. Nevertheless, it was also noted for being extremely slow-footed (Davis 1910:34, 1937:5,9; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:408; Mooney 1890b:127, 1891:395-397, 1900a:270,280,287), thereby enabling the Turkey to escape with its recently acquired fresh scalp (won in a recent battle) (Davis 1910:34, 1937:9-10; Mooney 1900a:287-288) and the Bobwhite with its fine whistle (Davis 1910:34, 1937:8; Mooney 1900a:289; Witthoft 1946a:178-179, 1946b:377). The Terrapin, unable to recover either of its prized possessions, became so ashamed that ever since it closes itself up and hides in its box whenever anyone approaches (Davis 1937:8; Mooney 1900a:289).

As a great conjuror, the Terrapin exhibited its magical powers in several myths. When the Turkey ran away with its scalp, it used its conjuring art to shoot some cane splints into the Turkey's legs (Davis 1910:34, 1937:9-10; Mooney 1900a:288). In another incident, the Terrapin was punished for killing the Wolf by being thrown into a river (Davis 1910:36-37, 1937:11-14; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:398-400; Mooney 1900a:278-279) where it struck against a rock and broke its shell into many pieces. By means of a conjuring song, it sewed itself together again; nevertheless, the scars (seams or patched

appearance) still remain today (Davis 1910:37, 1937:14; Mooney 1900a:279).

The Terrapin also appeared in several medicinal sacred formulas. It was regarded as the cause of "breast" (abdominal pain resulting from indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:251-253) and, along with the Water Turtle, of "black yellowness" (a severe digestive disorder) (Mooney 1891:365,366); in both ailments, the spirit Fire was petitioned since this cold-blooded creature could not tolerate heat (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:21,252). More frequently, however, the Terrapin served as a healing agent: In one formula, it was invoked in the treatment of "crippler" (rheumatism) (Mooney 1891:345-349).

Certain parts of the terrapin, particularly the compact shell, were essential components in the performance of a number of Cherokee rituals. Its shell was used in many ceremonial dances in which it was modified into rattles. Several terrapin shells (four or five) were filled with pebbles or beads, fastened together to a piece of deer or woodchuck hide, and tied around the legs of women dancers (Butrick n.d.b:92,260; De Baillou 1961:99; Evans n.d.:15,17; Kilpatrick 1966:193; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:417,418; Klinck and Talman 1970:70; Payne n.d.:102; Speck and Broom 1951; Williams 1930:101,116,178). The shell was also employed in the treatment of rheumatism in which it served as a container for holding beads and a portion of the medicine; this was placed upon the diseased

part by the shaman while reciting the appropriate formula (Mooney 1891:345-349). Furthermore, in praying for warm weather, a terrapin shell containing tobacco was thrown in the fire as a sacrifice (Butrick n.d.b:98; Payne n.d.:123). The limb bones of the terrapin were associated with the ball play: Because of the stoutness of its fore- and hind legs, contestants rubbed their legs with these bones in preparation for the game (Mooney 1890b:124, 1900a:306).

Middle/Upper Worlds. The bat **dlameha** and flying squirrel **tewa** were ambiguous creatures since they were the only four-footed animals that had wings and the ability to fly. They were originally grouped with the terrestrial four-footed animals (Middle, or This, World) but were rejected as members of this team in the mythical ball game due to their diminutive size. Consequently, they sided with the birds (Upper World), who created wings for them. This was accomplished by attaching the head of a drum, or woodchuck hide, to the Bat's forelegs, and by stretching the skin along the Flying Squirrel's sides between its fore- and hind limbs. These two creatures, in turn, were of great assistance in the game: the Flying Squirrel, by catching and then tossing the ball to the birds, and the Bat, by dodging and subsequently throwing the ball between the goal posts, thereby winning the contest for the birds (Davis 1910:40-41, 1937:25-28; Mooney 1900a:262,286-287).

These two small animals thus figured prominently in the ball play, and the shaman invoked their aid on behalf of

the contestants (Mooney 1890b:109,126,127, 1891:395-397, 1900a:262,454). Pieces from the wing of a bat were tied to the ball sticks (Mooney 1890b:109, 1900a:262,454), and sometimes its whiskers were twisted into the netting as well (Mooney 1890b:116). During the Ball Players' Dance, performed the night before the game, the ball sticks were hung upon a frame to which were also fastened bat skins and wings (Mooney 1890b:109,116, 1900a:262,454). Such paraphernalia were essential for ensuring a victory in the game (Mooney 1890b:116, 1900a:262). Finally, it should be noted that the bat was considered unclean and therefore never eaten (Butrick n.d.a:87; Williams 1930:137).

Anomalies

Invertebrates--insects/worms/spiders. Insects, worms, and spiders encompassed various forms known to swim, crawl, or fly, thereby being associated with water, land, or air, respectively. Consequently, their position within the Cherokee tripartite world view remains undetermined (Hudson 1976:128); it is possible that they were regarded as a group separate from this classificatory system and therefore were anomalous.

A number of invertebrates played an important role in recorded oral traditions, particularly in the mythology pertaining to genesis. The water beetle, or mellow bug, **doyunisi** was a significant figure in the earth's creation. At that time, the animals, living under crowded conditions above the sky vault in the Upper World, sent this beetle to

discover what existed beneath them besides water. The Water Beetle dived to the bottom of the ocean and brought up soft mud, which grew and spread, eventually forming the island earth. This was fastened to the sky vault with four cords (Davis 1910:26-27; Mooney 1900a:239,308,430) (see Crayfish).

The grubworm **daliyodaga** presided at the council held by the birds, insects, and smaller mammals to invent disease. It became so ecstatic with the various suggestions presented that it fell over backward and has been crawling on its back ever since (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:389; Mooney 1900a:252,308).

The water spider **kanalnesgi amayehi**, or **dilsdoyhdi**, was responsible for successfully obtaining the first fire. This little female spun a thread from her body, weaving it into a **dusdi** bowl (the egg sac under her cephalothorax), which she fastened upon her back. She swam to the island where she placed a coal in her bowl and brought it back to the animals. They have had fire ever since, and the Water Spider has retained her **dusdi** bowl as well (Davis 1910:28, 1937:30; Kilpatrick 1966:188; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:387; Mooney 1900a:241-242,309; Payne n.d.:26).

The red-brown moth, or tobacco worm, **wasohla** replaced the hummingbird in one version of the cosmogonic myth regarding the origin of tobacco. The two creatures resembled one another both in size and in feeding behavior.

Furthermore, this moth frequently appeared about tobacco plants in the evening hours (Mooney 1900a:438,546).

A monster yellow-jacket **Ulaga** formerly existed that was known to carry off young children. Several hunters found its nest concealed in a large cave near Franklin, North Carolina, which they set on fire, smothering the great insect as well as some of the smaller yellow-jackets **jasgayli** that also lived there. Those that escaped, however, multiplied their numbers so that yellow-jackets now are present throughout the world (Mooney 1900a:260, 444,541).

Invertebrates also figured prominently in other kinds of myths, such as the wonder stories and animal tales. The tumblebug **digsi digasagwalehlidohi**, also called the horned green beetle, was referred to as the "dog" of the Thunder Boys and was used to track the mythical gambler Brass. The metallic-green luster upon its forehead was the brass that rubbed off when it struck at this fictitious character (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:397; Mooney 1900a:308, 314,465).

The katydid **sigigi** used its knife-like "tail," or ovipositor, to make some arrows for the Thunder god (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:395). In another story, it warned a hunter of his imminent death (Mooney 1900a:311).

The cricket **taladu**, or barber **didasdoyesgi**, was noted as an expert hair cutter. It was sent by the jealous Rabbit (who had lost its own tail) to comb and "dress" the

Opossum's beautiful long bushy tail in preparation for a council and dance. The Cricket furtively wrapped a long string around the tail while cutting off all the hair (Davis 1910:39, 1937:16; Mooney 1900a:269,309). In several other versions, the hair clipping was carried out by the Moth (Mooney 1900a:449; Speck 1927:112) or by the magical spells of the Snail **elagwa** (Mooney 1900a:449). The Cricket was also associated with the arrival of a newborn baby. If it was a girl, its song was happy; but if it was a boy, it lamented because the latter would eventually learn how to construct little bows and shoot it (Mooney 1900a:401).

A giant-sized leech **dlanusi**, having a red and white striped body, was the subject of one story. It lived in a deep water hole at the junction of the Valley and Hiwassee Rivers in Murphy, North Carolina, which was known among the Cherokee as "The Leech Place" (Mooney 1900a:329-330,474-475). In another version, it was referred to as a very large turtle (Lanman 1849:382) (see Softshell Turtle).

Two additional myths involving invertebrates were about a young woman who married an insect in one story and a worm in the other, and in both became pregnant, giving birth to many babies. In the former tale, she was so ashamed that she asked her insect husband to leave; in the second, however, she and the young worms were burned by her neighbors (Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:426-427).

Invertebrates were frequently associated with medicinal beliefs and practices. Insects, their larvae,

and worms (except intestinal worms) **tsgoya** were viewed as malicious creatures and were held responsible for causing a variety of diseases. Since they occurred in great numbers everywhere and were very small, these animals were continually being destroyed by careless or contemptuous human beings. As a means of revenge, the ghosts of the slain **tsgoya** established "settlements," or "towns," in the bodies of their victims, thereby producing an irritation that subsequently resulted in a number of ailments (Mooney 1891:361, 1900a:250,308; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932: 28-29): pain in the side (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:238); "throat" (diphtheria) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:254-255); "insects living in the water" (diphtheria) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:260-262); toothache (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:263); abdominal "swelling" (indigestion) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:298); "moving pains in the teeth" (neuralgia?) (Mooney 1891:356-359); "great chill" (fever) (Mooney 1891:361); and a gangrene-like sore (Butrick n.d.b:333). As part of the treatment, insectivorous animals, including certain fish (Blue Catfish and Redhorse Fish) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:260-262), amphibians (Frog) (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:254-255), and birds (Mooney 1891:341; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:238), were invoked for removing these intruders.

For certain sicknesses, specific kinds of **tsgoya** as well as other types of invertebrates, such as intestinal worms **ujiya**, were considered causative agents. Rheumatism

was sometimes ascribed to the measuring-worm **wahili** since the patient's cramped movements bore a resemblance to the characteristic looping of this creature (Mooney 1891:347; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:28,291-294). An earache was attributed to a certain evil black bug (Butrick n.d.b:331), and boils, to the tobacco worm (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:299). Ailments also developed from swallowing flies **tvhga**, gnats **dosa**, or mosquitoes **dosa utana** (Williams 1930:137). Dreams of lice could cause sickness (Butrick n.d.a:54), and those involving wasps **kanajisdeji**, yellow-jackets, and similar insects could lead to blindness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:36). Intestinal worms **ujiya** might effect a type of illness marked by yellowness of skin, fever, or diarrhea, and various long-billed marsh birds--Sandpiper, Large Snipe, and Snipe--and waterfowl --Swan and Blue Goose--were invoked for removing them (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:213-215,247-249).

The consumption of specific kinds of insects, generally considered as food delicacies, was forbidden to individuals suffering from particular ailments. A person afflicted with diphtheria had to abstain from eating yellow-jacket or locust (cicada) **vle** larvae as these were derived from insects possibly causing the illness and hence would aggravate it (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255).

Invertebrates also served as healing agents for a number of illnesses. The Leech was referred to as a "penetrator" because of its bloodsucking habit (Mooney and

Olbrechts 1932:267) and was invoked, along with the Otter, Weasel, and Mink, for treating "breast aches" implanted by a ghost (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:269-271). An unidentified type of small yellowish moth **advtawa**, usually seen flying about the fire at night, was implored to aid in curing so-called "fire diseases," such as frostbite and "drooping" (sore eyes) (Mooney 1900a:310; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:185). In another case of eye trouble, the shaman prayed to the Spider **kanalnesgi** to remove the redness, inflammation, or pain (Butrick n.d.b:331). In one of the formulas for rheumatism, the Butterfly **kamama** was addressed to fan the joint in order to relieve the suffering (Butrick n.d.b:332).

Different kinds of invertebrates served as causative and curative agents for the same sickness. The Spider was solicited for removing an insect/worm **tsgoya** occasioning "moving pains in the teeth" (neuralgia?) (Mooney 1891:356-359).

Invertebrates were mentioned in several nonmedicinal prayers and rituals. Both the Dragonfly **wadaduga** and the Spider were invoked by the shaman on behalf of the ball players when taking them to water in preparation for the game; the former insect was addressed for its flying ability (Mooney 1890b:128, 1891:395-397), and the latter was asked to entangle in its threads the souls of the opponent players (Mooney 1890b:126, 1900a:309). The Spider was also petitioned by the shaman in a love formula for a recently

married man in order to fix the affections of his young wife by holding her spirit in its web (Mooney 1891:382-384).

Invertebrates, as a group, played a role in a divination ritual performed when "going to water" during the First New Moon of Spring and Great New Moon Festivals. The participants were instructed to sit fronting the stream or river's edge while the priest recited a formula for long life. During the ceremony, if any bugs or worms were seen crawling out of the water and fighting in front of a particular individual, this was a sign that the person either would be greatly distressed or would die; if nothing appeared, then all would be well (Butrick n.d.b:94; Payne n.d.:53,63-64).

The appearance or vocalizations of certain kinds of invertebrates carried specific connotations. The arrival of the June-bug **daga**, or **tuya-diskahlawidisgi**, marked the ripening of the beans (Brown 1938a:535; Mooney 1900a: 308,532). The song of the cicada, or jar-fly, **lolo**, heard in midsummer, also indicated that the bean crop was fully grown. It was followed soon after by the katydid's song, which signified that the corn was ready to be harvested (Mooney 1900a:309).

Regarding Cherokee dances, only one was associated with an invertebrate. The Pissant **dosvda!li** Dance was performed for recreational and social purposes and

consisted of two lines of dancers representing trails of ants (Speck and Broom 1951:76).

Invertebrates were used in the performance of a number of rituals. The cricket, being a well-known songster, was employed by some individuals for making tea so as to enhance their singing abilities. The claw of the mole cricket **gahlgwogi** was scratched upon the tongue of infants seemingly slow in acquiring speech so that they would learn to speak eloquently and become intelligent adults (Mooney 1900a:309). The nest of the hornet **sehwada** was modified into a Booger Dance mask: The interior was cleaned out, holes were cut for the eyes, and the nest's natural exit served as the mouth (Speck and Broom 1951:27, plate X,a).

Introduced animals. Old World animals gradually became an integral part of Cherokee secular culture and, in time, were incorporated into Cherokee ideology and ritual as well. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, since they were relatively recent innovations, their role in these traditions was rather small.

A number of beliefs developed pertaining to the use of their products as food; these beliefs were probably adopted from the white culture's notions of edibility/inedibility. The meat of the chicken **jitaga** (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87), cattle **wahga** (Bartram 1853:47; Butrick n.d.a:87), and goat **ahwi-ahanulvhi** (Bartram 1853:47) was accepted into the diet, but that of the cat **wesa** was considered unclean and therefore prohibited (Bartram

1853:47; Williams 1930:139). Horse **sogwili** flesh was never consumed (Bartram 1853:47) except in times of crisis when food supplies were scarce as in the Cherokee War of 1760-1761 (Public Record Office 1761:599; Williams 1927:67, 1930:242; Yonge 1933:35). Swine **sihgwa**, though originally regarded with much abhorrence (Williams 1930:17,137,139, 140,141), eventually was perceived as a major meat source (Bartram 1853:47). Other domestic products considered important foods included bee's **wadulisi** honey, chicken eggs, and cow's milk, butter, and cheese. (See Chapter 5.)

These animals and/or their products played a role in the treatment of certain ailments. Honey was added as a sweetener to a medicinal decoction prepared for persons suffering from intestinal worms (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:56,213-215,249); on the other hand, its consumption was forbidden to diphtheria patients as it was derived from insects possibly causing the illness and hence would aggravate it (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:255). Chicken was tabooed in severe cases of diarrhea as the loose feces of this animal suggested that it was chronically troubled with this problem (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:65,281-283) (see Fish). Eggs, because of their watery nature, were prohibited to those being treated either for blisters, which often occurred in summer from the sun's heat (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:210-211,251), or for intestinal worms (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:249). Furthermore, a cat was not to be touched by rheumatic patients because it

sometimes assumed a hunchback position (Mooney 1891:349-351; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:294).

Several of these animals might, at times, portend misfortune. A hen that crowed was regarded as an omen of sickness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37) and, more frequently, death (Butrick n.d.a:58; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:78,133). Dreams about bees could result in blindness (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:36), and those of a mad bull rushing wildly might lead to an epidemic (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:37). A pregnant cat eating the meat or entrails of a pheasant would lose the kittens within her (Witthoft 1946b:377).

Several dances were invented to accommodate the new fauna. The Chicken Dance was for friendship and socializing and was performed by men and women mimicking the behavior of the cock and hen, respectively (Speck and Broom 1951:75-76). In the Horse Dance, the performers imitated its trot and prance as well as its whinnying sound (Speck and Broom 1951:74-75).

Old World domesticates most frequently occurred in recorded oral traditions as substitutes for native animals. The Cow (Witthoft 1946a:179) replaced the Buffalo (Mooney 1900a:293) in one version of the myth regarding the Buzzard's loss of head feathers, and its horn was used in lieu of that of the buffalo as raw material for the shaman's sucking horn (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:73, plate 7,g) (see Buffalo). Swine and poultry were sometimes

consumed rather than deer or bear meat by the family and friends of a person attempting to avert the consequences presaged by bad dreams when all other methods had failed (Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:305). In the Booger Dance, the performers (hunters) used a dead chicken to represent a wild turkey, or a dead lamb or skull of a cow or horse to represent native mammals (Speck and Broom 1951:29).

Several additional uses were noted. Hunters often placed newly hatched chickens in an open basket and waved this over a fire, thereby ensuring protection from snakes (Payne n.d.:26). The horse was a form of property often used for betting at the ball play (Klinck and Talman 1970:79; Mooney 1890b:107,118). Its hair served as decoration on bobcat decoy masks worn by hunters when stalking wild turkeys (Speck and Broom 1951:86, plate VIII). A horse's tail was worn as part of the ceremonial attire of the delegation of Cherokee chiefs accompanying Alexander Cuming to London in 1730 (Williams 1928:129). Furthermore, horse effigies were sometimes sculptured on Cherokee stone pipes (Witthoft 1949:47,52, plate IV). Finally, the beautiful feathers of the peacock, obtained through trade with the whites, were used to make ceremonial headdresses (Mooney 1900a:399-400,504).

One final comment should be noted regarding Cherokee conceptualization of the relationship between certain introduced domestic and native wild animals. According to an eighteenth-century statement by a Cherokee priest

(Corkran 1969:28,29) and a nineteenth-century speech by a Cherokee chief (Tassel 1976:129; Williams 1921:177), sheep was associated with deer, swine with bear, and cattle with buffalo. Such correspondences may have been based upon cultural utilization: Sheep wool replaced deer skins as raw material for making clothes; lard was substituted for bear fat for cooking purposes; and cattle became an important source of meat, i.e., beef, and horns, for food and medicinal functions, respectively, after the extirpation of the buffalo.

Hence, these introduced animals held a significant position in Cherokee culture and were generally considered on an equal rank with the indigenous fauna; nevertheless, they still retained an alien status, i.e., were anomalies, in the performance of certain very sacred rituals. Unlike the native animals, they never could be offered to the sacred fire (Witthoft 1946a:180).

All of this information regarding the role of animals in Cherokee ideology and ritual practices is summarized in a series of tables in Appendix C.

CHAPTER 7
CHEROKEE ANIMAL CLASSIFICATIONS

> The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.
>
> Edward Sapir
> (1929:209)

The animal classifications, "general purpose" as well as "special purpose" schemes, of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee are primarily reconstructed on the basis of the nomenclatural data analysis. Such evidence is supplemented by inferences also drawn from other kinds of linguistic data, and from information pertaining to the significance of various recognized fauna in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture as derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts.

The "general" classification is described in terms of its structure and content and is subsequently compared with that of western science. Finally, "special," or alternative, classificatory arrangements are discussed.

"General" Classification

The "general" classification of the Cherokee animal semantic domain is organized according to a taxonomic structural framework and is presented here within the analytical schema (i.e., "universal" principles of classification and nomenclature) formulated by Berlin and his collaborators (see Chapter 3). According to this model, the Cherokee folk taxonomy is comprised of 239 mutually exclusive and hierarchically ordered classes, or taxa.[1] Of this total, 224 (93.7%) are named, and 15 (6.3%) are covert. Each taxon has a certain cognitive status indicated by its membership within a particular folk biological category. The Cherokee "general" classification includes 1 unique beginner, 5 life forms, 17 intermediates, 190 generics, and 26 specifics; varietals are nonexistent (Table 7-1). These are positioned within a relatively shallow taxonomic structure consisting of five levels (Levels 0 to 4). It should be noted that Cherokee taxa at a given hierarchical level do not all necessarily belong to the same folk biological category (Table 7-2) (see Chapter 3).

Only one taxon occurs at Level 0, the highest level, and is assigned as the unique beginner (Table 7-2). This

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[1]The Cherokee animal semantic domain consists of 231 names (see Chapter 4) and 239 taxa. The lack of a perfect mapping of names to taxa results from the occurrence of synonyms and polysemous forms as well as from the existence of unlabelled, or covert, taxa (see Chapter 3).

Table 7-1
Cherokee Folk Taxonomy--
Distribution of Cherokee Taxa
by Folk Biological Category

Folk Biological Category		Number of Cherokee Taxa			
Unique Beginner	[UB]	1	covert		(0.4%)
Life Form	[LF]	5	named		(2.1%)
Intermediate	[IM]	3	named		
		14	covert	> 17	(7.1%)
Generic	[G]	190	named		(79.5%)
Specific	[S]	26	named		(10.9%)
Total--Named Taxa		224			(93.7%)
Total--Covert Taxa		15			(6.3%)
Total Number of Cherokee Taxa		239	taxa		

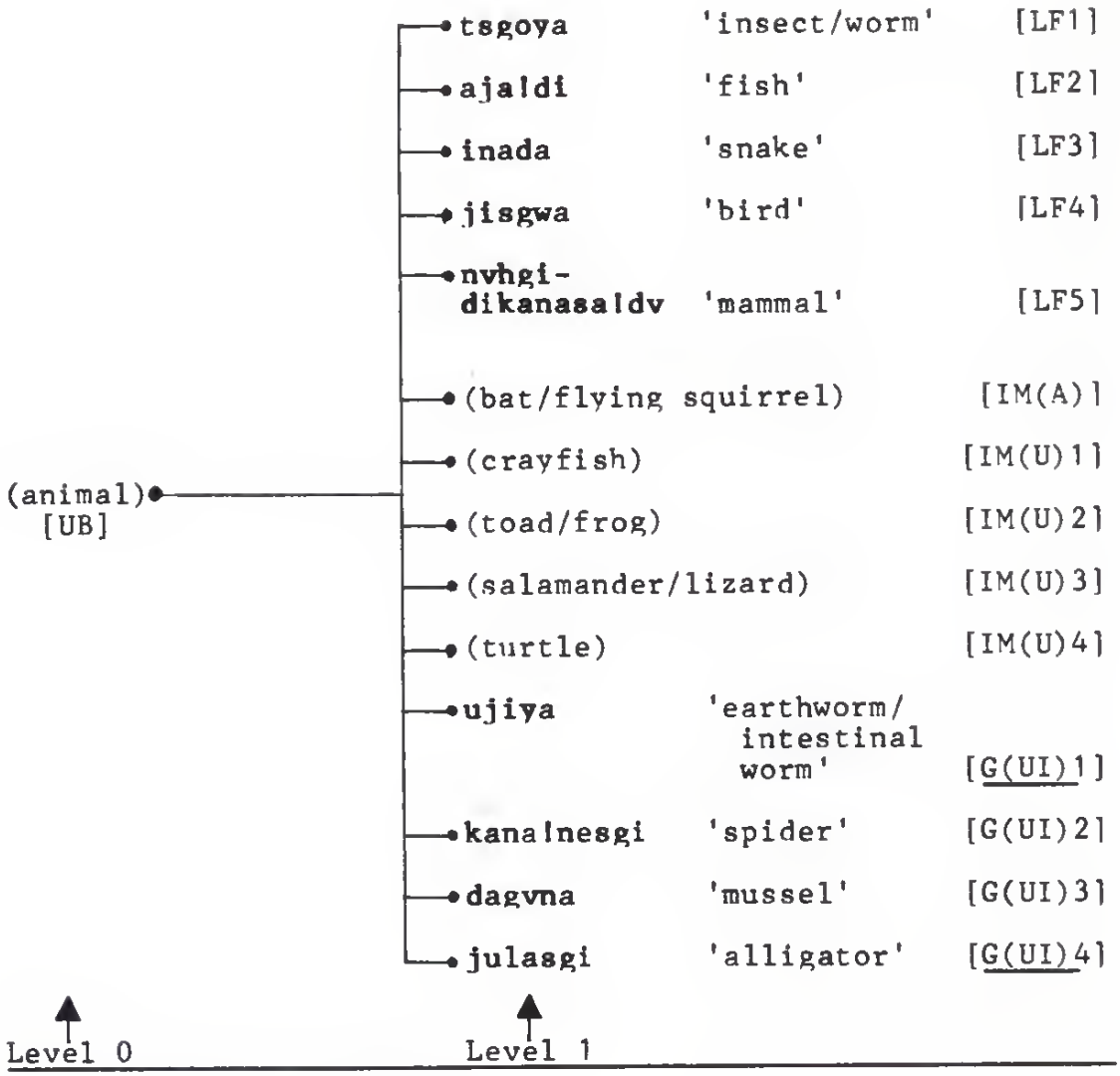
Table 7-2
Number of Cherokee Taxa,
Folk Biological Category,
and Relative Hierarchical Level

Level	Number of Cherokee Taxa	Number of Cherokee Taxa Per Folk Biological Category
0	1	1 unique beginner (covert)
1	14	5 life forms (named) 1 ambiguously affiliated intermediate complex (covert) 4 unaffiliated intermediate complexes (covert) 4 unaffiliated generic isolates (named)
2	164	3 intermediates (named) 9 intermediates (covert) 148 generics (named) 4 specifics (named)
3	56	38 generics (named) 18 specifics (named)
4	4	4 specifics (named)
Total	239 taxa	

taxon represents the most comprehensive class, encompassing all other taxa within the Cherokee folk taxonomy. Although this unique beginner is not labelled by an habitual lexemic expression, as the Cherokee language does not have a general term for 'animal,' its conceptual recognition and consequently that of the entire Cherokee animal semantic domain are demonstrated by certain direct (see Chapter 4) and indirect linguistic lines of evidence. Among the latter are vocabulary terms for anatomical parts of animals (also used for humans, when applicable) and for hunting and fishing implements (Mooney 1885). A final factor is the abundance of recorded oral traditions pertaining exclusively to familiar animals (see Chapter 6).

Fourteen taxa occupy Level 1 (Figure 7-1) and constitute the major divisions of the Cherokee folk taxonomy. These taxa include five life forms--**tsgoya** 'insect/worm,' **ajaldi** 'fish,' **inada** 'snake,' **jisgwa** 'bird,' and **nvhgi-dikanasaldv** 'mammal'--which are labelled by primary lexemes and are broadly inclusive, encompassing most of the taxa (88.4%) occurring at the lower levels (Levels 2, 3, and 4): 12 intermediates, 164 generics, and 22 specifics (Table 7-3).

The nine remaining taxa at Level 1 are conceptualized either as ambiguously affiliated, that is, exhibiting criterial attributes of two life form taxa simultaneously, or as totally unaffiliated and separate, manifesting certain combinations of features quite different from those



Folk Biological Categories
[UB] = Unique Beginner
[LF] = Life Form
[IM(A)] = Intermediate (Ambiguously Affiliated Complex)
[IM(U)] = Intermediate (Unaffiliated Complex)
[G(UI)] = Generic (Unaffiliated Generic Isolate)

English glosses in parentheses ( ) indicate covert taxa.
Terminal taxa are underlined.

Figure 7-1
Cherokee Folk Taxonomy--
Hierarchical Levels 0 and 1

Table 7-3
Distribution of Cherokee Taxa
of Hierarchical Levels 2, 3, and 4
Among Major Cherokee Groupings

Level 1 Major Cherokee Grouping	Levels 2, 3, and 4							
	Intermediates			Generics			Specifics	
	Named	Covert	Total	Mono-typic	Poly-typic	Total	Total	Totals
Life Forms								
tsgoya 'insect/worm'	1	1	2	29	4	33	8	43
ajaldi 'fish'	0	1	1	18	0	18	0	19
inada 'snake'	0	0	0	12	0	12	0	12
jisgwa 'bird'	1	4	5	67	2	69	4	78
nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal'	1	3	4	28	4	32	10	46
Total--Life Forms	3	9	12	154	10	164	22	198
Ambiguously Affiliated (bat/ flying squirrel)	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2
Unaffiliated (crayfish)	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2
(toad/frog)	0	0	0	8	0	8	0	8
(salamander/lizard)	0	0	0	7	0	7	0	7
(turtle)	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	3
Generic Isolates	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Total--Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	0	0	0	22	0	22	4	26
Totals	3	9	12	176	10	186	26	224
Percent (%) of Lower Level Taxa in Life Forms	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	87.5%	100.0%	88.2%	84.6%	88.4%
Percent (%) of Lower Level Taxa in Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	0%	0%	0%	12.5%	0%	11.8%	15.4%	11.6%

that typically define any of the five major life form taxa. Such taxa include one ambiguously affiliated covert complex (bat/flying squirrel), four unaffiliated covert complexes (e.g., turtle), and four unaffiliated named isolated generics (e.g., spider) (Figure 7-1). These nine taxa, unlike the life form taxa, are far less comprehensive and subsume only 11.6 percent of the taxa occurring at the lower levels (Levels 2, 3, and 4): 22 generics and 4 specifics (Table 7-3).

The fundamental core of the folk taxonomy is formed by the generic taxa (i.e., both those included in life forms as well as those ambiguously affiliated or unaffiliated), which constitute the greatest proportion (79.5%) of the folk classes (Table 7-1) and may be found at Levels 1, 2, or 3 (Table 7-2). They are designated by primary lexemes and are either monotypic (178 taxa, or 93.7% of total generics) or polytypic (12 taxa, or 6.3%) (Table 7-4), the latter being partitioned into predominantly two-membered, or bitypic, specific contrast sets; only one polytypic generic contains four members (Table 7-5). All specifics are thus included among the 12 polytypic generics and consequently may occur at Levels 2, 3, or 4 (Table 7-2). They are usually named by secondary lexemes; "type specifics" and "residuals," however, are labelled by primary forms that are polysemous with their superordinate generic taxon. Specifics (26) and monotypic generics (178), regardless of their level, are terminal taxa; that is, they include no

Table 7-4
Cherokee Monotypic versus Polytypic
Generic Taxa

Type of Generic	Number of Generics	Percent (%) of Total Generics
Monotypic	178	93.7%
Polytypic	12	6.3%
Total	190	100.0%

Table 7-5
Size and Frequency of Specific Contrast Sets
in Cherokee Polytypic Generic Taxa

Number of Included Specific Taxa	Number of Polytypic Generic Taxa or Specific Contrast Sets
2	11
3	0
4	1
Total Number of Polytypic Generic Taxa or Specific Contrast Sets	12
Total Number of Specific Taxa	26

further subdivisions. A total of 204 terminal taxa are found in the Cherokee folk taxonomy (Table 7-6).

In this section, the 14 major taxa at Level 1 and their subsumed classes at Levels 2, 3, and 4 are discussed. Each major life form is individually presented with a description of its respective intermediate complexes, generics, and specifics. A similar format follows regarding the content of the amhiguous and unaffiliated taxa.

Major Life Form Taxa

Tsgoya 'insect/worm'

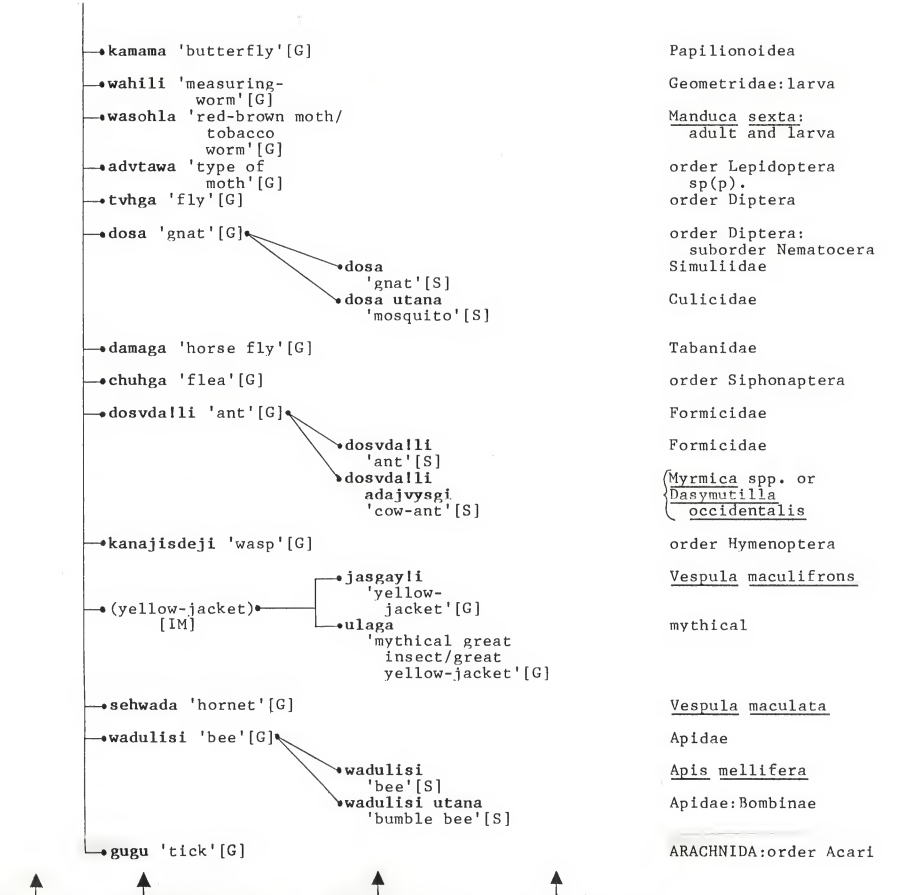
The major life form class **tsgoya** 'insect/worm' includes 33 generic taxa, which correspond to possibly more than 100 western scientific species (Figure 7-2). Five generics enter into one labelled intermediate complex **tsgoya uyasgvhdi** 'beetle'; one of these generics is polytypic and consists of two specifics according to the linguistic analysis, the "type specific" **daga** 'June-bug' and **daliyodaga** 'grubworm.' Since it remains undetermined whether the Cherokee viewed the latter creature as an earlier life stage form of the former, a nontaxonomic "stage of" relationship, the 'grubworm' is presented as a taxon that is a "kind of" 'June-bug.'

One other complex occurs, hut is unlahelled, and consists of two monotypic (terminal) generics, **jasgayli** 'yellow-jacket' and **ulaga** 'mythical great insect.' The

Table 7-6
Total Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=204)
Among Major Cherokee Groupings

Major Cherokee Grouping	Monotypic Generics	Specifics	Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
Life Forms			
tsgoya 'insect/worm'	29	8	37
aja!di 'fish'	18	0	18
inada 'snake'	12	0	12
jisgwa 'bird'	67	4	71
nvhgi-dikanasa!dv 'mammal'	28	10	38
Total--Life Forms	154	22	176
Ambiguously Affiliated (bat/ flying squirrel)	2	0	2
Unaffiliated (crayfish)	2	0	2
(toad/frog)	8	0	8
(salamander/lizard)	7	0	7
(turtle)	3	0	3
Generic Isolates	2	4	6
Total--Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	24	4	28
Totals	178	26	204

Life Form1: tsgoya 'insect/worm'
ARTHROPODA:INSECTA
MOLLUSCA:GASTROPODA
ANNELIDA:HIRUDINEA
ARTHROPODA:CHILOPODA
ARTHROPODA:order Acari
elagwa 'snail'[G]
MOLLUSCA:GASTROPODA
dlanusi 'leech'[G]
ANNELIDA:HIRUDINEA
juganoji 'centipede'[G]
ARTHROPODA:CHILOPODA
wadaduga 'dragonfly'[G]
order Odonata:suborder Anisoptera
ganvnowa 'type of dragonfly'[G]
order Odonata:suborder Anisoptera sp(p).
tolatsga 'grass-hopper'[G]
order Orthoptera
sigigi 'katydid'[G]
Tettigoniidae
taladu 'cricket'[G]
Acheta assimilis
gahlgwogi 'mole cricket'[G]
Gryllotalpa hexadactyla
tina 'louse'[G]
Pediculidae?
galuysdi 'bed bug'[G]
Cimicidae
lolo 'cicada/jar-fly'[G]
Tibicen auletes
vle 'locust'[G]
Magicicada septendecim?
tsgoya 'insect/worm' [LF]
tsgoya uyasgvhdi 'beetle' [IM]
doyunisi 'water beetle/mellow bug'[G]
Gyrinidae
ahwi 'large horned beetle'[G]
Lucanidae
digsi digasagwale-hlidohi 'tumblebug'[G]
Phanaeus vindex
daga 'June-bug'[G]
Cotinis nitida
daga 'June-bug'[S]
Cotinis nitida:adult
daliyodaga 'grubworm'[S]
Cotinis nitida:larva
dalsguwa 'snapping beetle'[G]
Alaus oculatus



Folk Biological Categories
[LF] = Life Form
[IM] = Intermediate
[G] = Generic
[S] = Specific

English glosses in parentheses ( ) indicate covert taxa.

Figure 7-2
Life Form Taxa--
Life Form1: **tsgoya** 'insect/worm'

latter is the only apocryphal class within the **tsgova** life form.

The remaining 26 generics are single isolated classes of which 23 are monotypic and 3 are polytypic consisting of two specific taxa each. Of the latter, **wadulisi** 'bee' is a "type specific," and **dosvdaɬli** 'ant' is a "residual" class. The 'bee,' or honey bee, is the only domestic as well as nonnative **tsgoya** and was introduced following European contact. Moreover, it should be noted that the specific **wadulisi** 'bee,' an introduced taxon, is labelled by the simpler (unmarked) linguistic form, whereas **wadulisi utana** 'bumble bee,' its native counterpart, is linguistically marked (see Chapter 4).

Ajaɬdi 'fish'

The second major group, **ajaɬdi** 'fish,' is a relatively small life form class consisting of 18 monotypic generic taxa, which refer to more than 50 western scientific species (Figure 7-3). Only the **dagwa** taxon is atypical: It is defined as a huge 'mythical fish' and also as the 'whale.' The latter animal is the only **ajaɬdi** that was not present in the Cherokee country and was probably initially learned of through reading the Bible (see Chapter 4). **Ajadiya** 'salmon' is the "type generic" and was supposedly very common, though the corresponding western scientific species has not been determined.

Most of the generics are isolated classes. Two taxa, **oliga** 'redhorse fish' and **oligiyusdi** 'white sucker,'

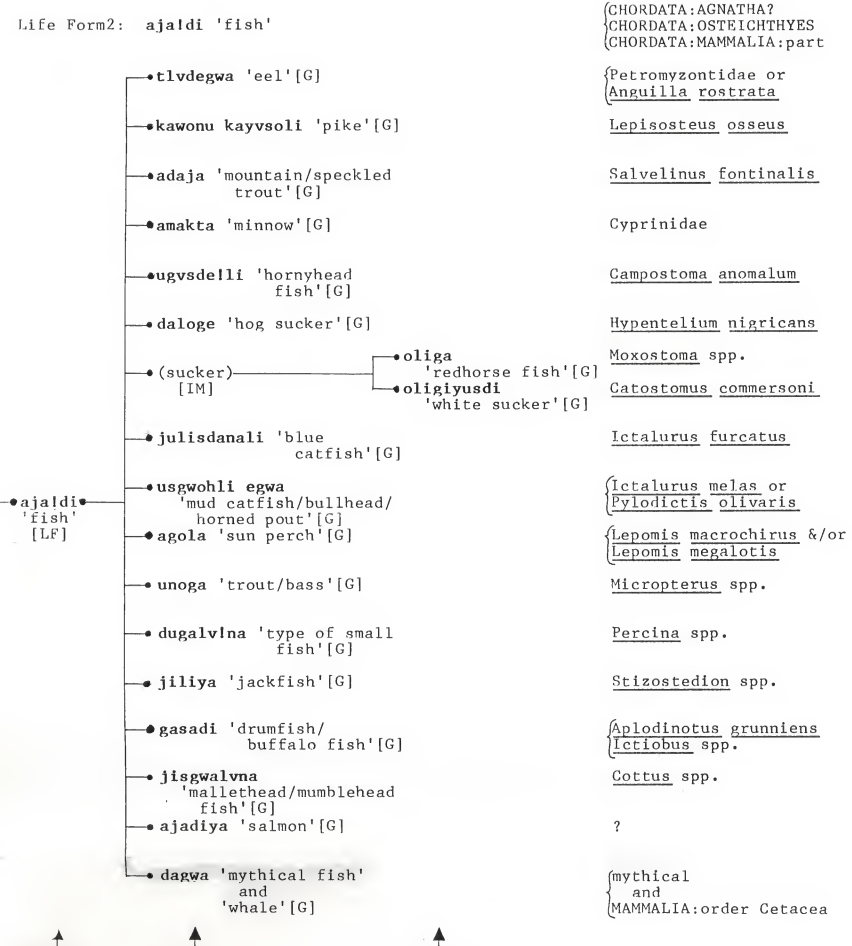


Figure 7-3
Life Form Taxa--
Life Form2: **ajaldi** 'fish'

however, seem to be in close association, based upon nomenclatural evidence, and together possibly form a covert complex. The second term was derived from the first by the analogical process of "concrete transposition" (a kind of descriptive derivation), whereby its referent was seen to be conceptually related to the already existing and named taxon **oliga** and was named accordingly, i.e., **oligiyusdi** 'like **oliga**.' It is important to note that the taxon **oligiyusdi** was not conceptualized as subordinate to or as a "kind of" **oliga**, but rather as a class very similar to and equivalent in classificatory status (i.e., generic) with the **oliga** taxon (see Chapter 4).

Inada 'snake'

Inada 'snake' constitutes the smallest life form class and includes 12 monotypic generic taxa. Of the latter, nine involve genuine indigenous animals, which correspond to 10 western scientific species, and three are apocryphal creatures. This bipartite division, however, is possibly only an arbitrary construct of the researcher: According to several accounts, **usdadli** 'mythical foot snake/fawn imitator' (which also applies to the 'southern hoop-snake,' or rainbow snake, an animal not present in the Cherokee country [see Chapter 4]), **uwǃjvda** 'mythical bouncer snake,' and, in particular, **uktena** 'mythical horned snake' appear to have been quite real to the Cherokee (see Chapter 6). Hence, subgroupings within **inada** were probably not

recognized, and therefore all 12 generics are presented as single isolated classes (Figure 7-4).

Jisgwa 'bird'

Jisgwa 'bird' is the largest life form class with 69 generic taxa, which encompass over 100 western scientific species (Figure 7-5). Based upon information derived from recorded oral traditions, 16 generics enter into five complexes of which four are covert and one is named. The unnamed groupings are comprised of two to three monotypic generic members each: eagles, the most sacred bird; sandpipers, long-billed wading marsh birds that were collectively invoked in the sacred formulas; owls, noted for their uncanny appearance and nocturnal habits and considered of ill omen; and chickadees, the tomtit and tufted titmouse, both regarded as messengers (see Chapter 6). **Tawodi** 'hawk' is the only named intermediate complex and includes five monotypic and one polytypic generic taxa. The latter contains two specifics: **sanuwa** 'mythical hawk,' the only hypothetical class within the **jisgwa** life form; and its earthly representative, **sanuwa usdi** 'pigeon hawk.'

The remaining 53 generics are presented as isolates since sufficient evidence regarding additional conceptual combinations is lacking. **Gajedali** 'crane/heron' is the only polytypic one and has two specifics (one is a "type specific"). **Jisgwaya** 'sparrow' is the "type generic" and was very common in the Cherokee country. **Jitaga**

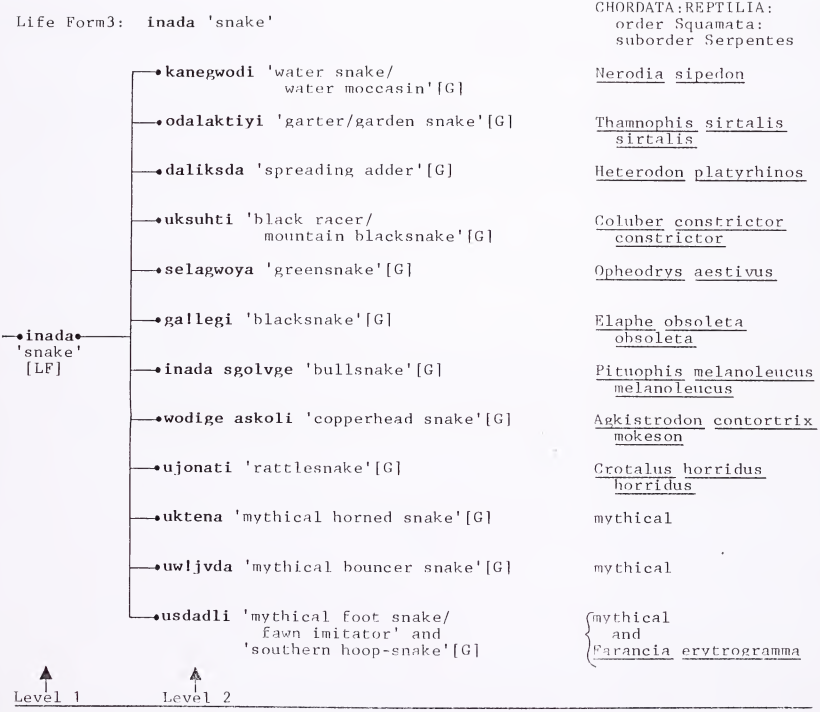
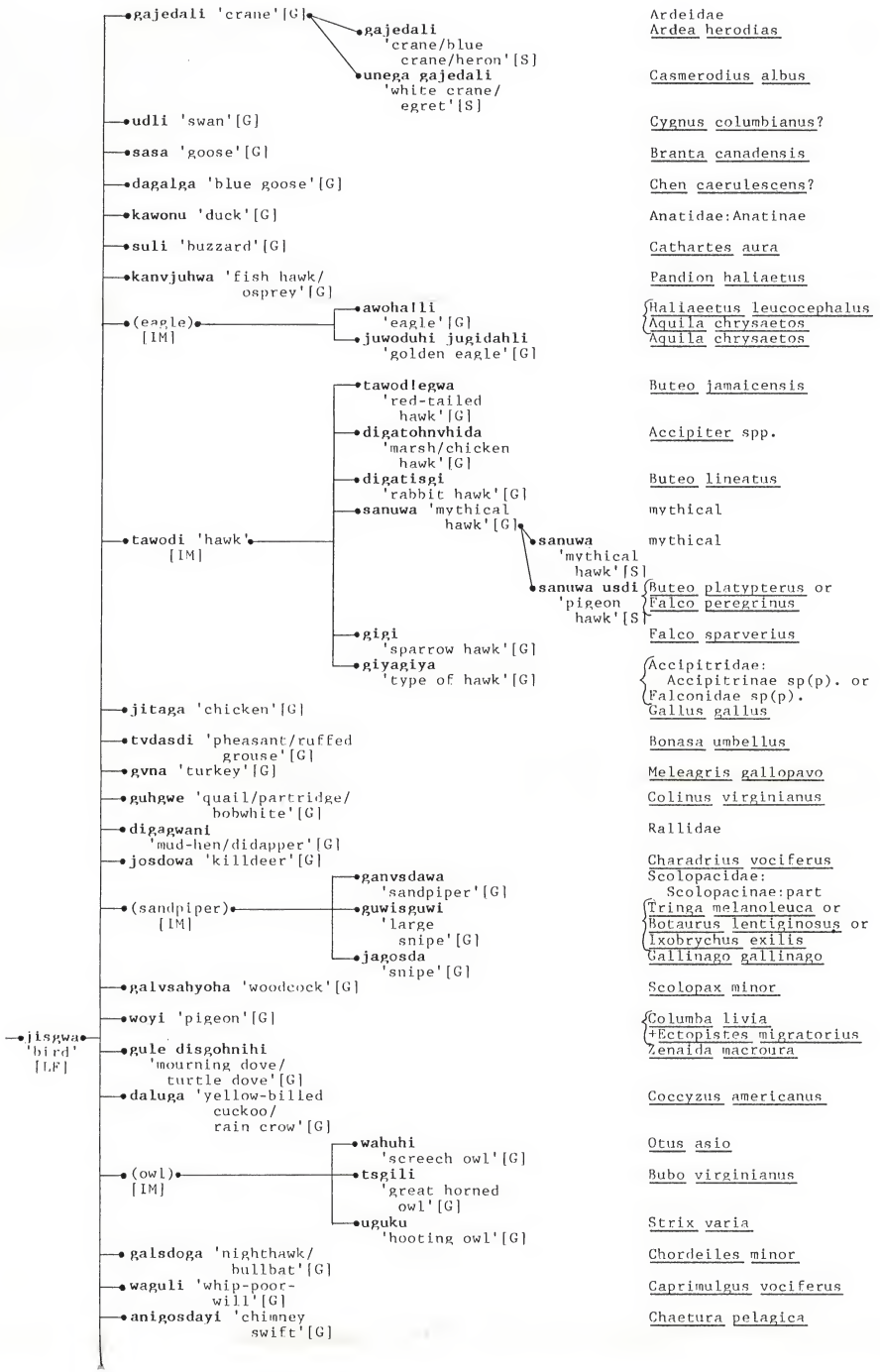
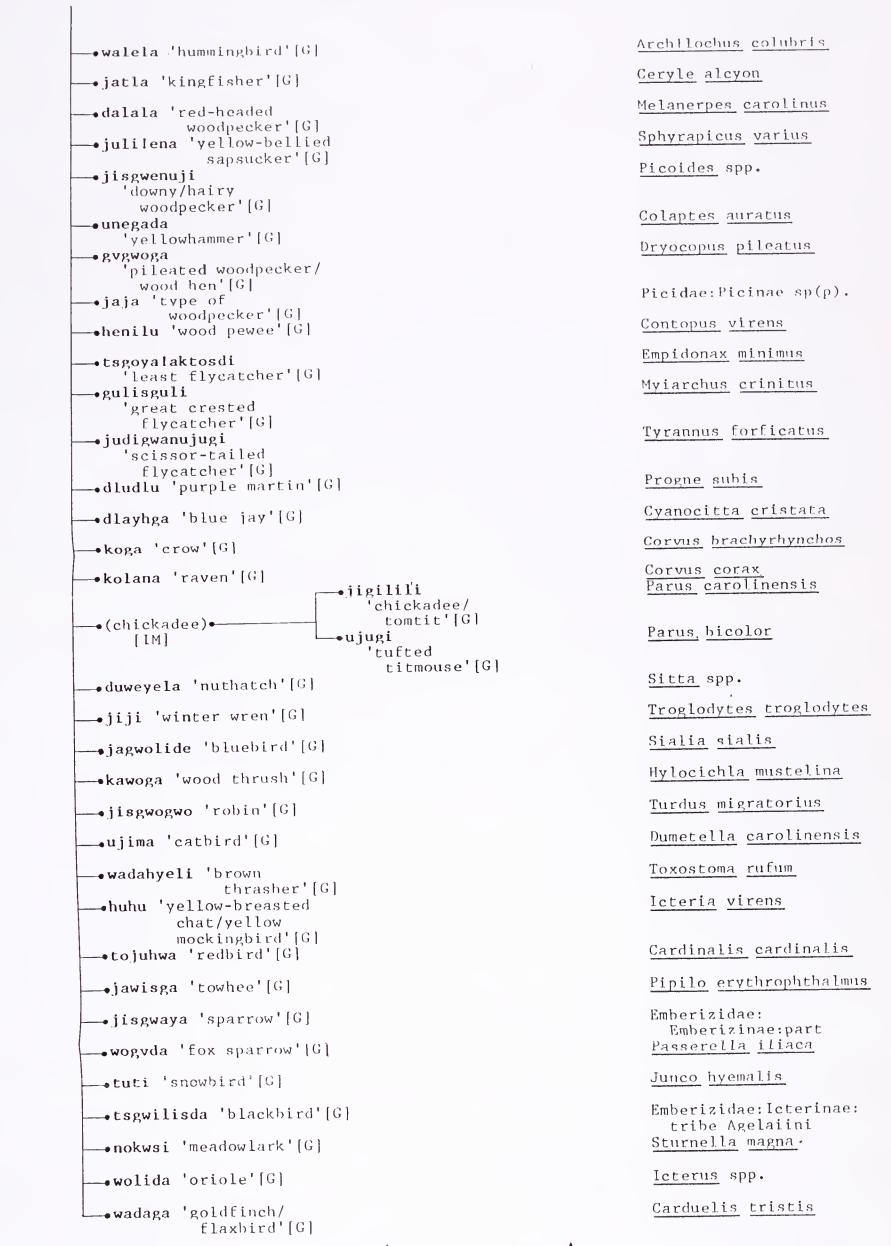


Figure 7-4
Life Form Taxa--
Life Form3: inada 'snake'

Life Form4: jisgwa 'bird'

CHORDATA:AVES




walela 'hummingbird'[G] — Archilochus colubris
jatla 'kingfisher'[G] — Ceryle alcyon
dalala 'red-headed woodpecker'[G] — Melanerpes carolinus
julilena 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'[G] — Sphyrapicus varius
jisgwenuji 'downy/hairy woodpecker'[G] — Picoides spp.
unegada 'yellowhammer'[G] — Colaptes auratus
gvgwoga 'pileated woodpecker/wood hen'[G] — Dryocopus pileatus
jaja 'type of woodpecker'[G] — Picidae:Picinae sp(p).
henilu 'wood pewee'[G] — Contopus virens
tsgoyalaktosdi 'least flycatcher'[G] — Empidonax minimus
gulisguli 'great crested flycatcher'[G] — Myiarchus crinitus
judigwanujugi 'scissor-tailed flycatcher'[G] — Tyrannus forficatus
dludlu 'purple martin'[G] — Progne subis
dlayhga 'blue jay'[G] — Cyanocitta cristata
koga 'crow'[G] — Corvus brachyrhynchos
kolana 'raven'[G] — Corvus corax
(chickadee)[1M] — jigilili 'chickadee/tomtit'[G] — Parus carolinensis
(chickadee)[1M] — ujugi 'tufted titmouse'[G] — Parus bicolor
duweyela 'nuthatch'[G] — Sitta spp.
jiji 'winter wren'[G] — Troglodytes troglodytes
jagwolide 'bluebird'[G] — Sialia sialis
kawoga 'wood thrush'[G] — Hylocichla mustelina
jisgwogwo 'robin'[G] — Turdus migratorius
ujima 'catbird'[G] — Dumetella carolinensis
wadahyeli 'brown thrasher'[G] — Toxostoma rufum
huhu 'yellow-breasted chat/yellow mockingbird'[G] — Icteria virens
tojuhwa 'redbird'[G] — Cardinalis cardinalis
jawisga 'towhee'[G] — Pipilo erythrophthalmus
jisgwaya 'sparrow'[G] — Emberizidae: Emberizinae:part Passerella iliaca
wogvda 'fox sparrow'[G] — Junco hyemalis
tuti 'snowbird'[G] — Emberizidae:Icterinae: tribe Agelaiini Sturnella magna
tsgwilisda 'blackbird'[G] — Icterus spp.
nokwsi 'meadowlark'[G] — Carduelis tristis
wolida 'oriole'[G]
wadaga 'goldfinch/flaxbird'[G]
Level 1
Level 2
Level 3
Level 4

Folk Biological Categories
[LF] = Life Form
[1M] = Intermediate
[G] = Generic
[S] = Specific

English glosses in parentheses ( ) indicate covert taxa.

Figure 7-5
Life Form Taxa--
Life Form4: **jisgwa** 'bird'

'chicken' and **woyi**[2] 'pigeon' are introduced taxa, and, according to the early records, the former was the only bird that was domesticated by the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee.

Nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal'

Nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal' constitutes the fifth life form class and involves 32 generic taxa, which, in turn, correspond to more than 50 western scientific species (Figure 7-6). Although **kamama utana** 'elephant' and **sogwili digalenvhida** 'donkey/mule' have been presented in the list of animal names[3] (see Chapter 4), these two taxa are omitted in the reconstruction of the folk taxonomy: Documentation regarding Cherokee familiarity with such introduced animals for as early as the time period under consideration has not been found.

Thirteen monotypic generics are conceptually combined into four intermediate complexes. Of the latter, only one is labelled, **jisdeji** 'mouse/rat,' and, according to naming patterns and supplementary early linguistic and ethnographic field notes, consists of six or possibly seven members, three of which are introduced: **jisdeji usdi** 'house mouse,' **jisdeji utana** 'house rat,' and **kanikwsa** 'black rat.' **Talsgewi** 'shrew' is problematical: It is

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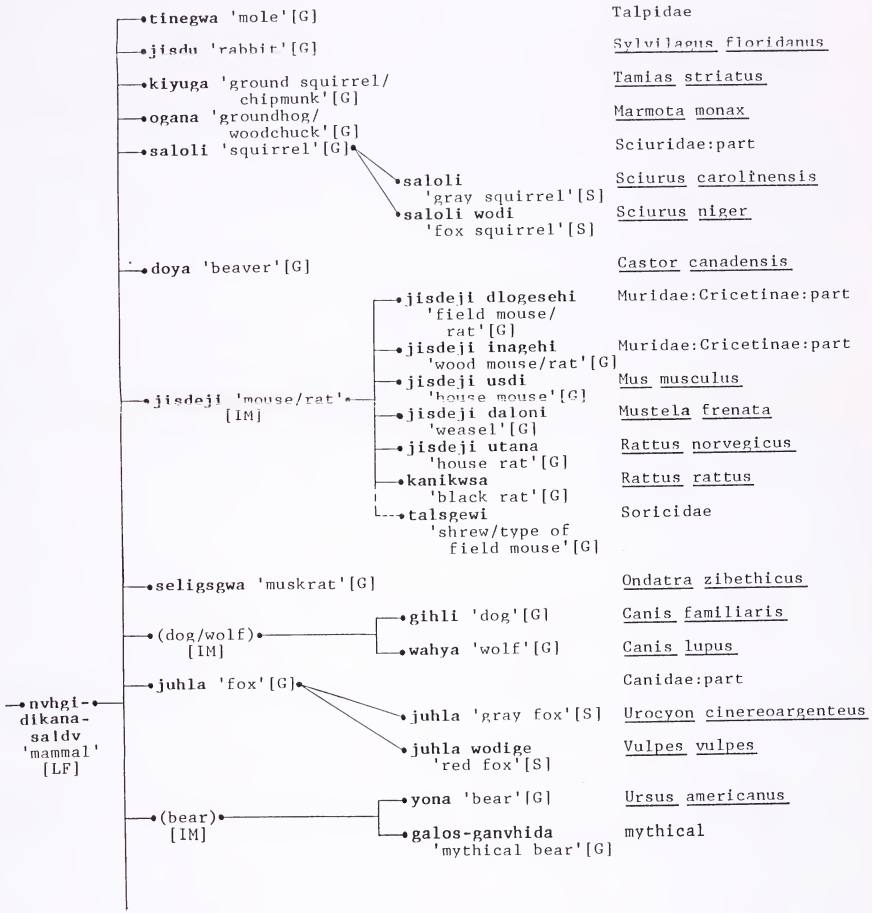
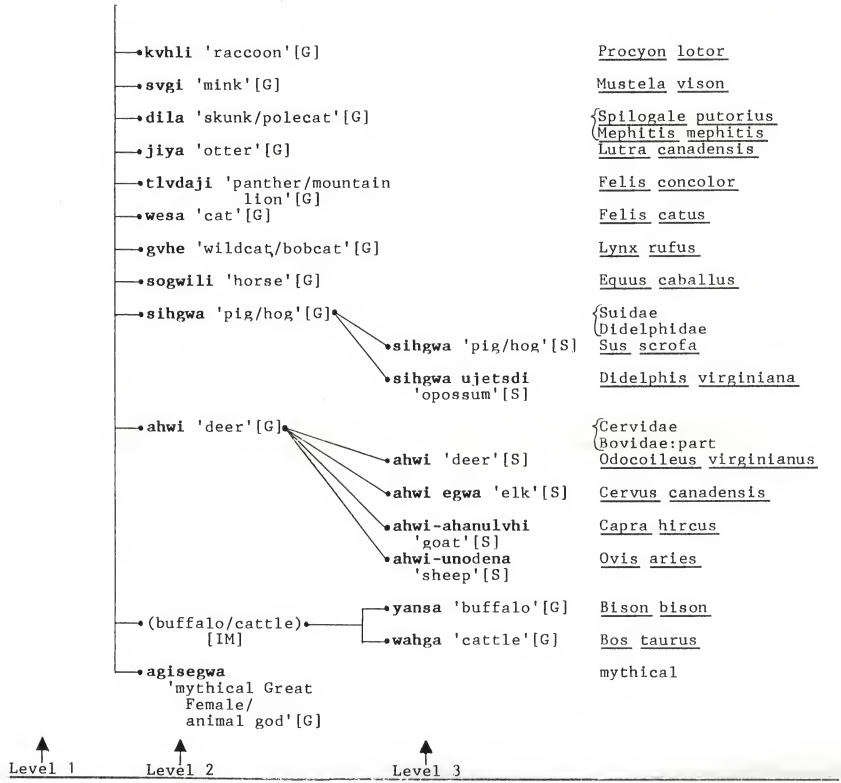
[2]The name **woyi** refers to the indigenous wild passenger pigeon as well as to the introduced rock dove, or domestic pigeon.

[3]A number of the animal names are derived from sources dating to the middle and late nineteenth century, i.e., later than the time period being studied.

Life Form5: **nvhgi-dikanasaldv** 'mammal' — CHORDATA:MAMMALIA:part


nvhgi-dikana-saldv 'mammal' [LF]
tinegwa 'mole'[G] — Talpidae
jisdu 'rabbit'[G] — Sylvilagus floridanus
kiyuga 'ground squirrel/ chipmunk'[G] — Tamias striatus
ogana 'groundhog/ woodchuck'[G] — Marmota monax
saloli 'squirrel'[G] — Sciuridae:part
saloli 'gray squirrel'[S] — Sciurus carolinensis
saloli wodi 'fox squirrel'[S] — Sciurus niger
doya 'beaver'[G] — Castor canadensis
jisdeji 'mouse/rat' [IM]
jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/ rat'[G] — Muridae:Cricetinae:part
jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat'[G] — Muridae:Cricetinae:part
jisdeji usdi 'house mouse'[G] — Mus musculus
jisdeji daloni 'weasel'[G] — Mustela frenata
jisdeji utana 'house rat'[G] — Rattus norvegicus
kanikwsa 'black rat'[G] — Rattus rattus
talsgewi 'shrew/type of field mouse'[G] — Soricidae
seligsgwa 'muskrat'[G] — Ondatra zibethicus
(dog/wolf) [IM]
gihli 'dog'[G] — Canis familiaris
wahya 'wolf'[G] — Canis lupus
juhla 'fox'[G] — Canidae:part
juhla 'gray fox'[S] — Urocyon cinereoargenteus
juhla wodige 'red fox'[S] — Vulpes vulpes
(bear) [IM]
yona 'bear'[G] — Ursus americanus
galos-ganvhida 'mythical bear'[G] — mythical



Folk Biological Categories
[LF] = Life Form
[IM] = Intermediate
[G] = Generic
[S] = Specific

English glosses in parentheses ( ) indicate covert taxa.
Broken lines --- indicate questionable relationship.

Figure 7-6
Life Form Taxa--
Life Form5: **nvhgi-dikanasa!dv** 'mammal'

uncertain whether its gloss as a 'type of field mouse' (see Chapter 4) was the folk classification of the early investigators or that of the Cherokee informants. The three other complexes are covert and are inferred from recorded oral traditions: In the mythology, **gihli** 'dog' and **wahya** 'wolf' appear to be closely related; **galos-ganvhida** was described as a large and lean, probably apocryphal, type of **yona** 'bear'; **wahga** 'cow' was substituted for **yansa** 'buffalo' in one version of a myth, and its horn replaced that of the buffalo for several ritual uses (see Chapter 6).

The remaining 19 generics are isolates and entail 15 monotypic and 4 polytypic classes. The latter, each of which contains a "type specific" taxon, are as follows: **ahwi** 'deer' with four specifics, two indigenous (**ahwi** 'deer' and **ahwi egwa** 'elk') and two nonnative (**ahwi-ahanulvhi** 'goat' and **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep'); and **saloli** 'squirrel,' **juhla** 'fox,' and **sihgwa** 'pig/hog,' with two specifics apiece. It should be noted that the specific **sihgwa** 'pig/hog,' an introduced taxon, is labelled by the simpler (unmarked) linguistic form, whereas **sihgwa ujetsdi** 'opossum,' its native counterpart, is linguistically marked. This phenomenon contrasts with the generic **ahwi** 'deer' in which all nonnative specific taxa are marked. (See Chapter 4.)

The monotypic generic isolates include two introduced animals, **wesa** 'cat' and **sogwili** 'horse,' and one mythical

animal, **agisegwa** 'Great Female/animal god,' whose status as a **nvhgi-dikanasa!dv** 'mammal' remains equivocal. Finally, **tinegwa** 'mole,' or 'huge louse,' was most probably considered a **nvhgi-dikanasa!dv** (see Chapter 6).

Ambiguously Affiliated Taxa

Ambiguously affiliated classes exhibiting criterial attributes of two life form taxa simultaneously are minimally represented. The two generic taxa involved are conceptually grouped together into one covert complex (Figure 7-7). Both **dlameha** 'bat' and **tewa** 'flying squirrel' are the only four-footed animals that have wings and the ability to fly: At the mythical ball game, they were rejected by the four-footed animal team due to their diminutive size and consequently sided with the birds, who created wings for them (see Chapter 6).

Unaffiliated Taxa

Unaffiliated classes manifest certain combinations of morphological and, at times, behavioral features quite different from those that typically define any of the five major life form taxa and therefore are not subsumed within the latter taxa. Justifications for their probable unrelatedness to particular groupings are based upon inferences and/or conjectures drawn from the various data sources.

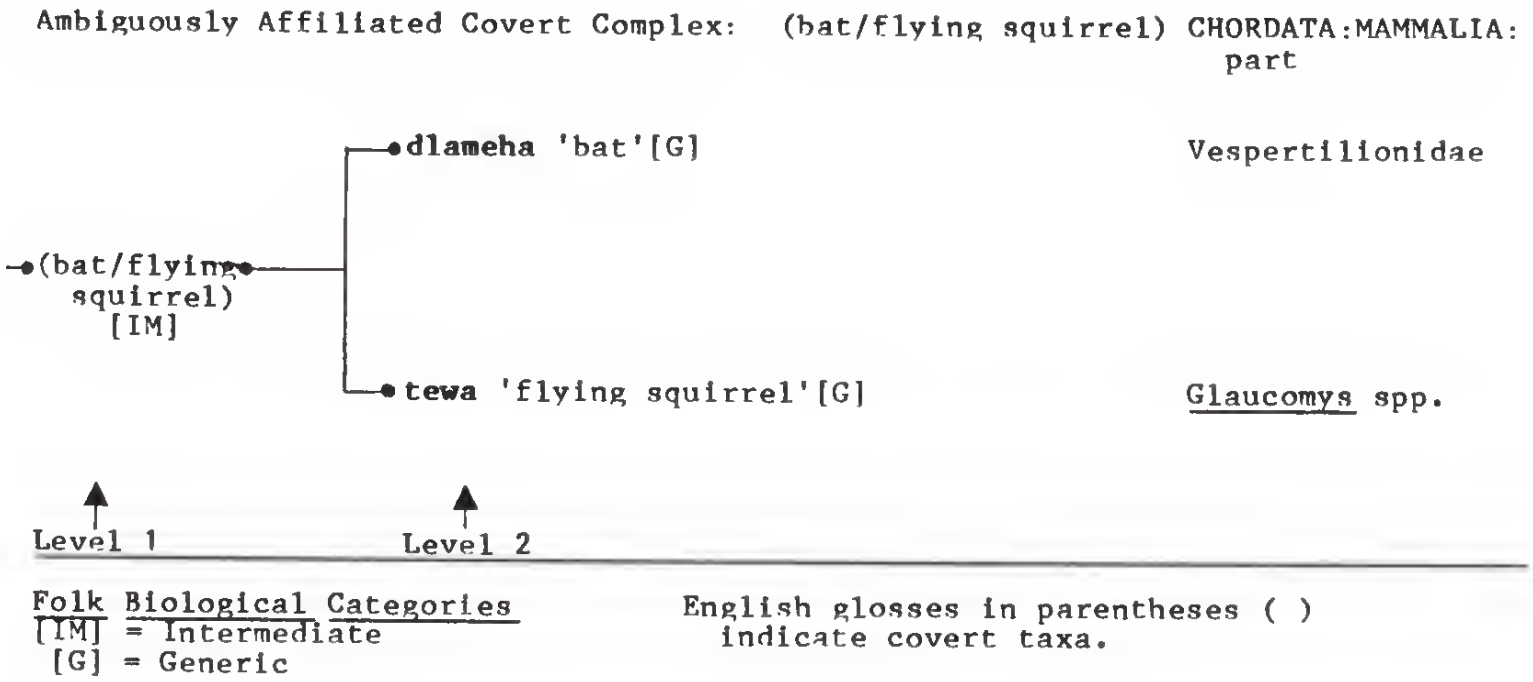


Figure 7-7
Ambiguously Affiliated Taxa--
Covert Complex: (bat/flying squirrel)

Twenty-four generics are considered as separate. Of this total, 20 are grouped into four covert complexes; the remaining four generics are conceptual isolates.

Unaffiliated covert complexes

Crayfish are aquatic creatures that possess gills and can swim and therefore might be classified as fish. The presence of leg-like appendages and pincers (Grant 1975:246; Mooney 1900a:308; Ulmer and Beck 1951:54) and a hardened external covering, i.e., carapace (Davis 1910:27; Mooney 1900a:239), however, may preclude them from membership in that life form (Figure 7-8) (see Chapter 6).

Several complexes involve animals that may possibly have been associated with mammalian fauna. Toads and frogs are four-footed creatures but are probably too small to have been conceptually recognized as mammals. Moreover, they generally spend most of the time in water[4] and, in recorded oral traditions, were associated with the Under World (Figure 7-9) (see Chapter 6). Turtles are quadrupeds that are larger in size, yet they have a bony shell enclosing their body. Although **daksi** 'terrapin,' or box turtle, a terrestrial animal, was associated with the mammals in the mythology, it is grouped here in the same unaffiliated complex as the other turtles because of its

[4]Two local mammals, beaver and otter, are aquatic rather than land-dwelling animals. Nevertheless, the majority of their morphological and behavioral features are similar to those of other mammalian fauna.

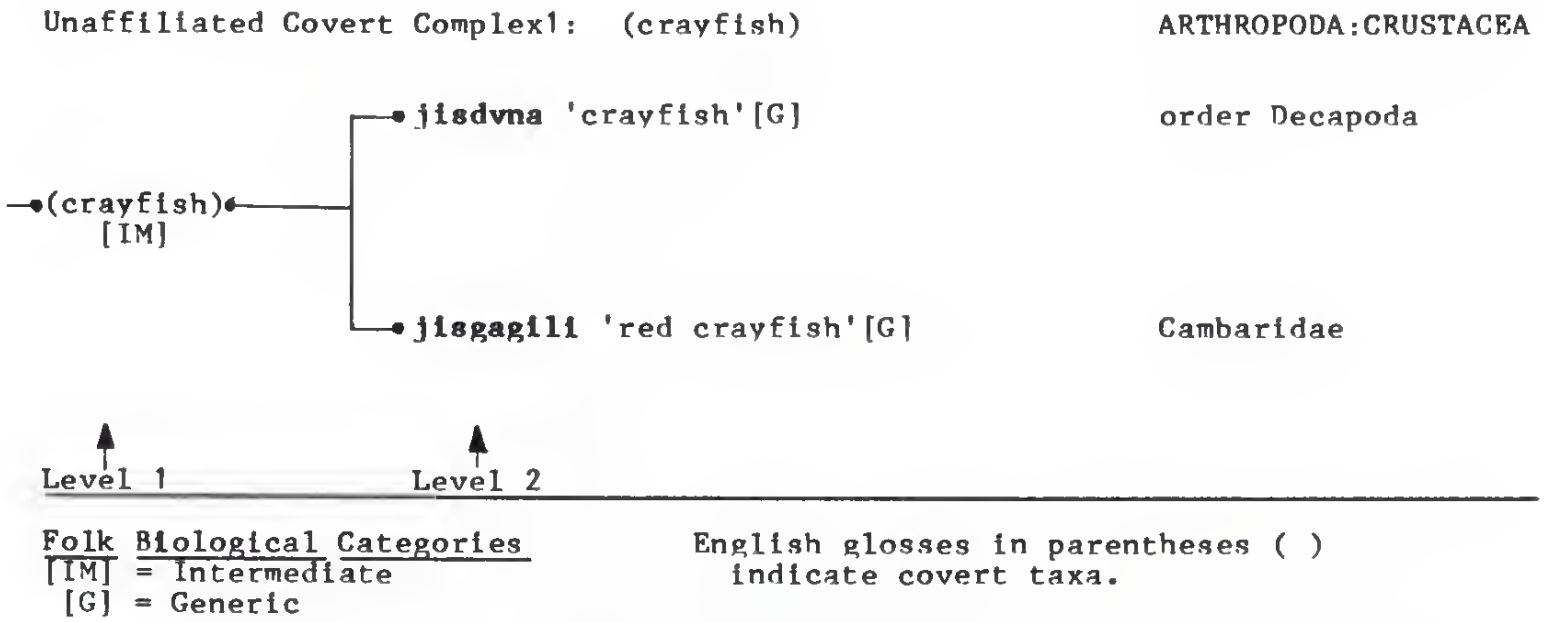
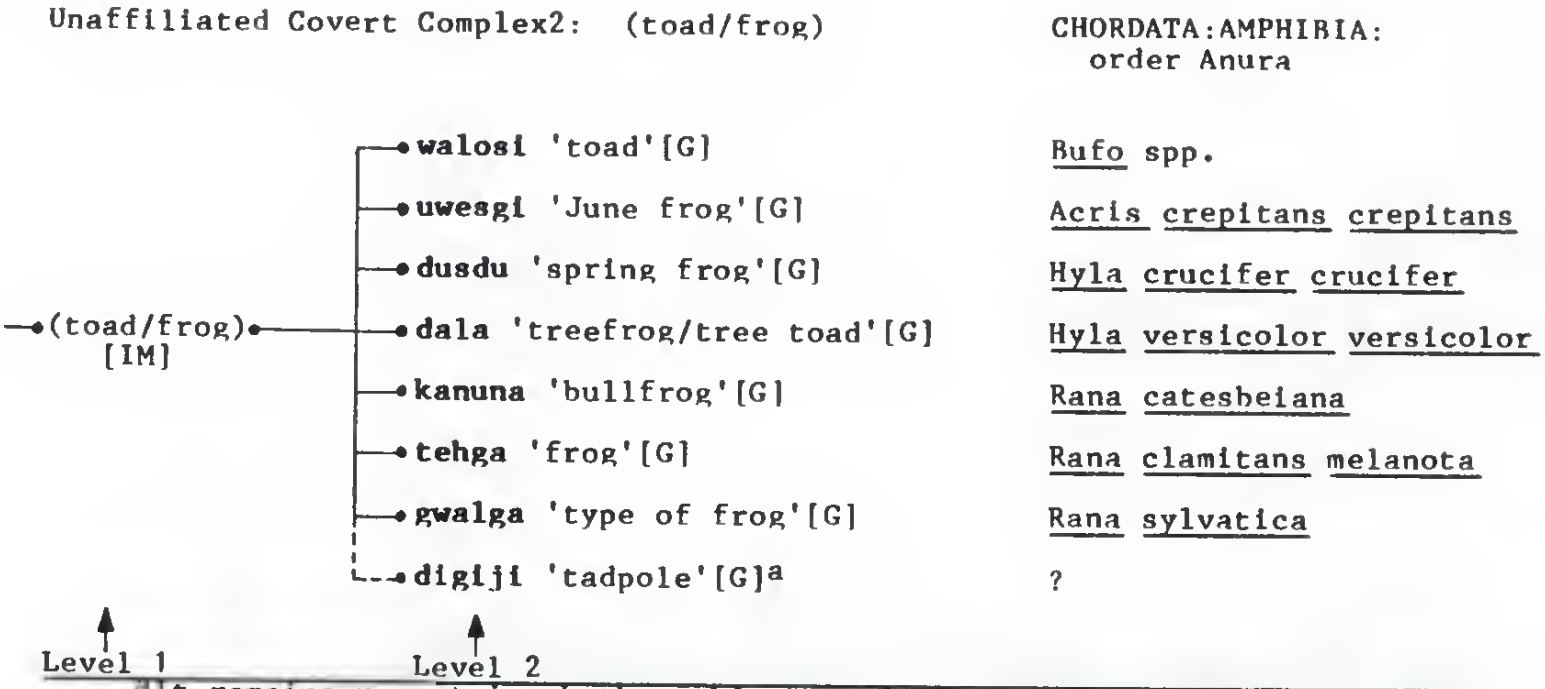


Figure 7-8
Unaffiliated Taxa--
Covert Complex1: (crayfish)



[a] It remains uncertain whether this term is a general one referring to the larval stage of all adult toads and frogs or to a completely separate class of organisms.

Folk Biological Categories
[IM] = Intermediate
[G] = Generic

English glosses in parentheses ( ) indicate covert taxa.
Broken lines --- indicate questionable relationship.

Figure 7-9
Unaffiliated Taxa--
Covert Complex2: (toad/frog)

cousin relationship to **saligugi** 'water turtle' (Figure 7-11) (see Chapter 6).

Salamanders and lizards are snake-like elongated creatures adapted to crawling (Mooney 1900a:307). The possession of limbs and, among lizards, claws (Mooney 1900a:306) may possibly justify their separate classificatory status (Figure 7-10) (see Chapter 6).

Unaffiliated generic isolates

The **ujiya** 'earthworm/intestinal worm' generic consists of very small creatures that are comparable in size to those constituting the **tsgoya** 'insect/worm' taxon. Nevertheless, they were considered as separate from rather than as members of that life form (Mooney 1891:361; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932:29). Spiders, which are included in a polytypic generic taxon partitioned into two specifics --**kanaĭnesgi amayehi** 'water spider' and **kanaĭnesgi** 'spider,' a "residual" class--are also diminutive. Their unique behavior, however, of spinning threads of silk to construct egg sacs (Davis 1910:28, 1937:30; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966:387; Mooney 1900a:241-242; Payne n.d.:26), draglines (Kilpatrick 1966:188), and/or webs for entangling prey (Mooney 1890b:126, 1891:382-384, 1900a:309) (see Chapter 6) may possibly substantiate their nonaffiliation.

Bivalved molluscs form another polytypic generic, which consists of the specifics **dagvna** 'mussel' ("type specific") and **dagvna utana** 'oyster.' The latter, a marine mollusc, was not present in the Cherokee country and may

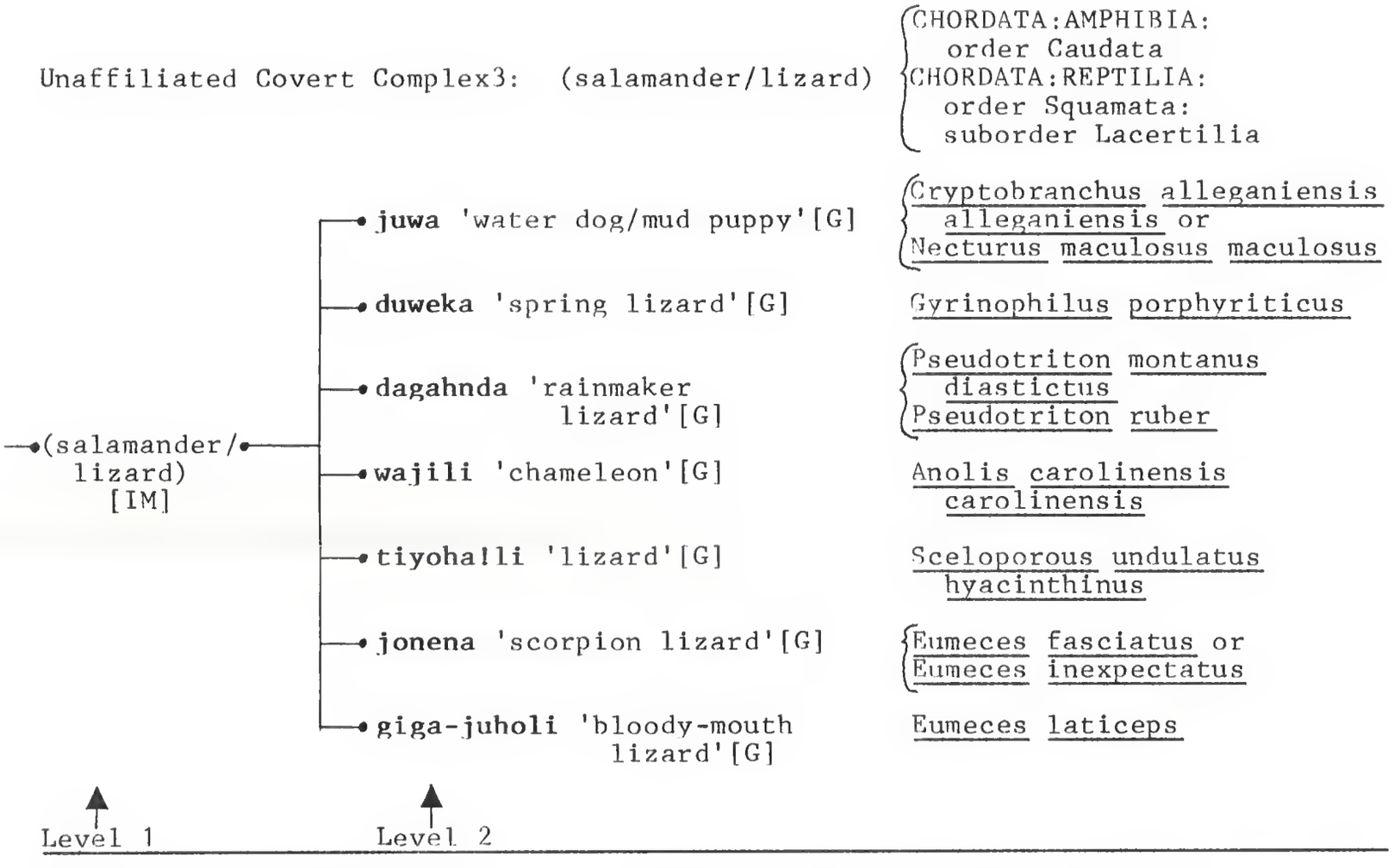


Figure 7-10
Unaffiliated Taxa--
Covert Complex3: (salamander/lizard)

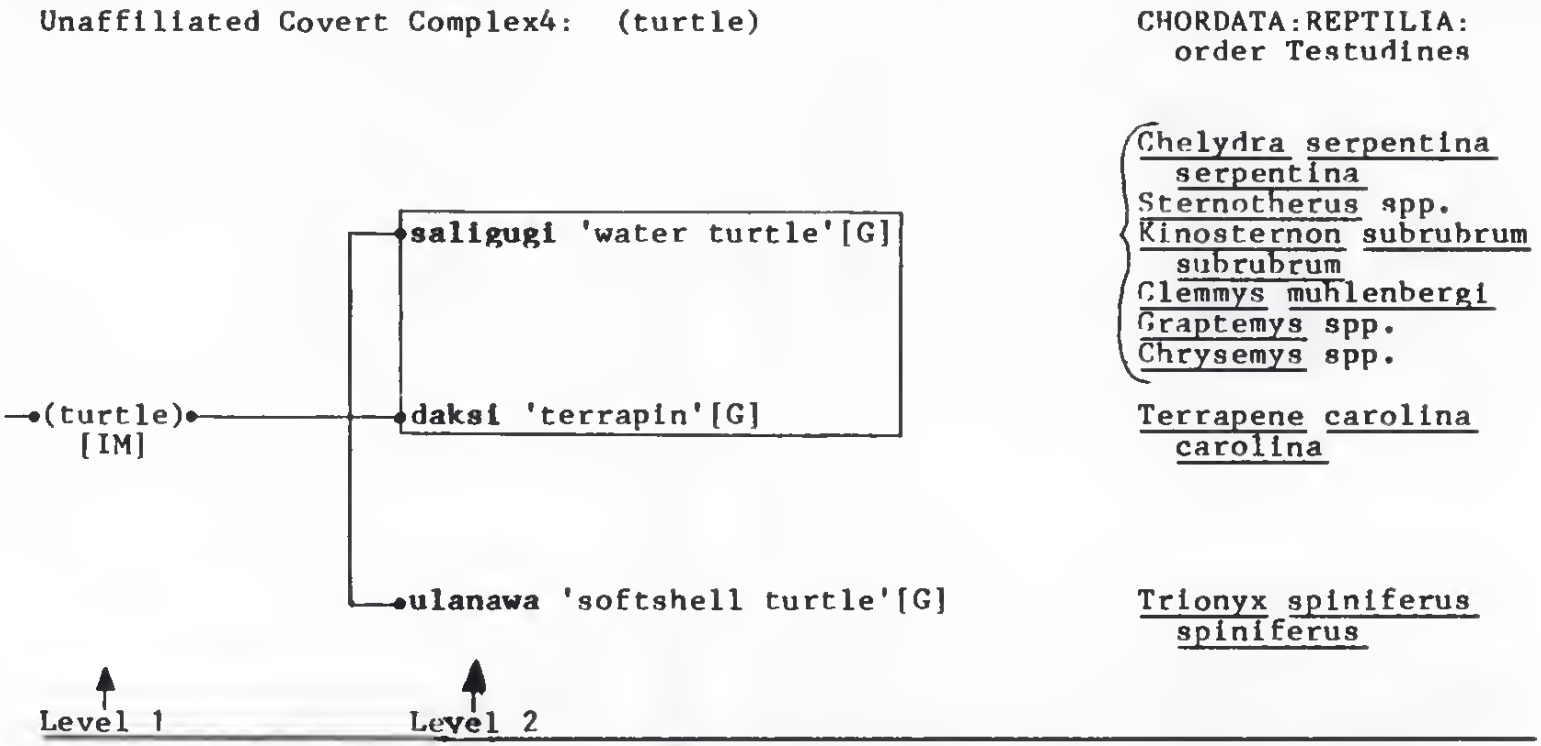


Figure 7-11
Unaffiliated Taxa--
Covert Complex4: (turtle)

have been obtained through trade with coastal Southeast Indian groups. The mussel was mentioned in the mythology in reference to the use of its shell as a knife and never as a living animal; moreover, in one story, it was changed by magical means into a canoe, an inanimate object (see Chapter 6). It is suggested that the Cherokee may not have recognized molluscs as true animals (indeed, living organisms) perhaps because of their superficial lack of mobility.

Julasgi 'alligator' is another animal not present in the Cherokee country. The Cherokee probably knew of this animal since aboriginal times through association with other Southeast Indian groups. It was never discussed in recorded oral traditions (Mooney 1900a:307) or in early ethnographic/historical accounts; such lack of information necessitates its separate classificatory position (Figure 7-12).

Cross-Cultural Comparison

A cross-cultural comparison between the Cherokee "general" classification, or folk taxonomy, and that of western science reveals a number of similarities and differences regarding their structure and content. These two systems are analyzed from a relativistic standpoint, whereby they are considered as representing the cognitive

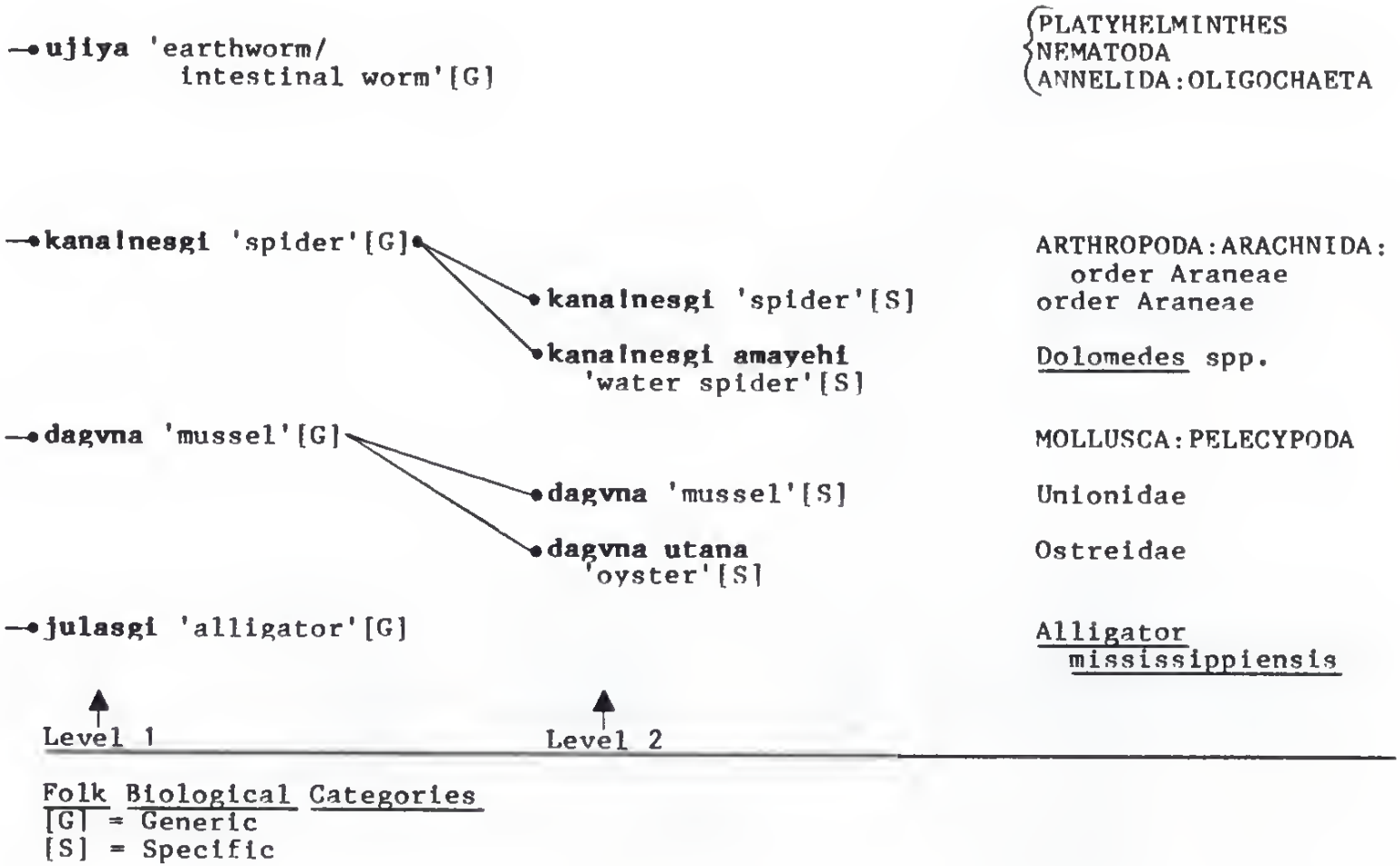


Figure 7-12
Unaffiliated Generic Isolates

orientation of two very different cultures and, consequently, as reflecting distinct world views (see Chapter 3).

Structurally, both are formal taxonomies in which classes, or taxa, are hierarchically ordered by relations of contrast and inclusion. Nevertheless, the Cherokee folk taxonomy is quite shallow, consisting of only five levels, in contrast to a range of 7 to 21 levels within the western scientific one (Mayr 1969:89-90; Simpson 1961: 16-18).

In terms of their substantive nature, or internal content, the two systems are examined by comparing Cherokee folk terminal taxa (monotypic generics and specifics) with western scientific species. For the former, 19 of the 204 terminal taxa originally determined are excluded for reasons either of being mythical and/or not present in the Cherokee area during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (e.g., **dagwa** 'mythical fish/whale') or of being not sufficiently well defined in terms of scientific taxa (e.g., **ajadiya** 'salmon') (Tables 7-7 and 7-8). For western taxa, the inventory is restricted to those species, both native and introduced, that were present in the Cherokee area, especially in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee, the specific geographical focus of this study, during the time period

Table 7-7
Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=19) Excluded From
Cherokee/Western Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Cherokee Terminal Taxon	Reason for Exclusion
ganvnowa 'type of dragonfly'	western species not defined
advtawa 'type of moth'	western species not defined
dosvda!li adajvysgi 'cow-ant'	western species not well defined
ulaga 'mythical great insect/ great yellow-jacket'	mythical
tlvdegwa 'eel'	western species not well defined
agola 'sun perch'	western species not well defined
ajadiya 'salmon'	western species not defined
dagwa 'mythical fish/whale'	mythical/not locally present
uktena 'mythical horned snake'	mythical
uw!jvda 'mythical bouncer snake'	mythical
usdadli 'mythical foot snake/ fawn imitator/southern hoop-snake'	mythical/not locally present
sanuwa 'mythical hawk'	mythical
giyagiya 'type of hawk'	western species not defined
jaja 'type of woodpecker'	western species not defined
galos-ganvhida 'mythical bear'	mythical
agisegwa 'mythical Great Female/ animal god'	mythical
digiji 'tadpole'	western species not defined
dagvna utana 'oyster'	not locally present
julasgi 'alligator'	not locally present

Table 7-8
Total Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=185)
(by Major Cherokee Grouping)--
Revised for Cherokee/Western Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Major Cherokee Grouping	Monotypic Generics	Specifics	Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
Life Forms			
tsgoya 'insect/worm'	26	7	33
ajaldi 'fish'	14	0	14
inada 'snake'	9	0	9
jisgwa 'bird'	65	3	68
nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal'	26	10	36
Total--Life Forms	140	20	160
Ambiguously Affiliated (bat/ flying squirrel)	2	0	2
Unaffiliated (crayfish)	2	0	2
(toad/frog)	7	0	7
(salamander/lizard)	7	0	7
(turtle)	3	0	3
Generic Isolates	1	3	4
Total--Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	22	3	25
Totals	162	23	185

under consideration (Appendix A [Table A-4]). The degree of correspondence between Cherokee terminal taxa and western species is presented, followed by a comparison of the relative animal diversity exhibited by the Cherokee folk and western science taxonomic systems.

Folk/Science Correspondences

All three major kinds of correspondences that may possibly occur between folk and scientific taxa are represented when mapping Cherokee terminal taxa to western species, respectively. They are one-to-one correspondence, lesser differentiation, and greater differentiation.

One-to-one correspondence is the most common and is exhibited by 128 terminal taxa, or 69.2 percent of the total inventory of 185 Cherokee terminal taxa. Several examples are as follows:

taladu	'cricket'	---	*Acheta assimilis*
daloge	'hog sucker'	---	*Hypentelium nigricans*
kanuna	'bullfrog'	---	*Rana catesbeiana*
daksi	'terrapin'	---	*Terrapene carolina*
gvna	'turkey'	---	*Meleagris gallopavo*
gihli	'dog'	---	*Canis familiaris*

Lesser differentiaion is represented by 55 terminal taxa (29.7%), which, in turn, are divided into two types. Type 1 is found among 13 of the lesser differentiated taxa (23.6%) and is illustrated by the following:

unoga	'trout/bass'	---	Micropterus dolomieui Micropterus punctulatus Micropterus salmoides
digatohnvhida 'marsh/chicken hawk'		---	Accipiter striatus Accipiter cooperii
jisgwenuji 'downy/hairy woodpecker'		---	Picoides pubescens Picoides villosus
tewa 'flying squirrel'		---	Glaucomys volans Glaucomys sabrinus

Type 2 occurs more frequently, involving 42 taxa, or 76.4 percent of the lesser differentiated taxa, and is exemplified as follows:

gasadi 'drumfish/ buffalo fish'		---	Aplodinotus grunniens Ictiobus bubalus Ictiobus niger
tsgwilisda 'blackbird'		---	Agelaius phoeniceus Euphagus carolinus Quiscalus quiscula Molothrus ater
tinegwa	'mole'	---	Parascalops breweri Scalopus aquaticus Condylura cristata

Greater differentiation is very rare among Cherokee teminal taxa and is noted in only two taxa (1.1%):

daga	'June-bug'	---	Cotinis nitida
daliyodaga	'grubworm'		

The distribution of Cherokee folk terminal taxa according to these three kinds of correspondences is shown in Appendix D (qualitative) and Tables 7-9 and 7-10 (quantitative).

Table 7-9
Distribution (Quantitative) of
Cherokee Folk Terminal Taxa (n=185)
(by Major Cherokee Grouping)
According to Kind of Correspondence
With Western Scientific Species

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence					Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
	One-to-One	Lesser Differentiation Type 1	Lesser Differentiation Type 2	Lesser Differentiation Total	Greater Differentiation	
Life Forms						
tsgoya 'insect/worm'	10	0	21	21	2	33
ajaldi 'fish'	7	5	2	7	0	14
inada 'snake'	9	0	0	0	0	9
jisgwa 'bird'	57	4	7	11	0	68
nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal'	31	0	5	5	0	36
Total--Life Forms	114	9	35	44	2	160
Ambiguously Affiliated (bat/ flying squirrel)	0	1	1	2	0	2
Unaffiliated (crayfish)	0	0	2	2	0	2
(toad/frog)	6	1	0	1	0	7
(salamander/lizard)	6	1	0	1	0	7
(turtle)	2	0	1	1	0	3
Generic Isolates	0	1	3	4	0	4
Total--Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	14	4	7	11	0	25
Totals	128	13	42	55	2	185
Percent (%) of Total Terminal Taxa	69.2%	7.0%	22.7%	29.7%	1.1%	100.0%

Table 7-10
Summary of Distribution (Quantitative) of
Cherokee Folk Terminal Taxa (n=185)
According to Kind of Correspondence
With Western Scientific Species

Cherokee Terminal Taxa	Kind of Correspondence: One-to-One (OTO)	Lesser Differentiation (LD)	Greater Differentiation (GD)	Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa	128	55	2	185
Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa	69.2%	29.7%	1.1%	100.0%

Relative Diversity

The comparison of the relative amount of animal diversity contained in the Cherokee folk and western science taxonomic systems is limited to the examination of vertebrate fauna. Invertebrates[5] are not considered so that an additional 39 Cherokee terminal taxa are excluded, particularly those subsumed within the **tsgoya** 'insect/worm' life form (33) and the unaffiliated crayfish covert complex (2), and those within several of the unaffiliated generic isolates (4)--**ujiya** 'earthworm/intestinal worm,' **kanaĭnesgi** 'spider,' and **dagvna** 'mussel.'

The resultant 146 Cherokee terminal taxa are first sorted with respect to their inclusion among the eight remaining major Cherokee groupings (Table 7-11) and are then reapportioned in terms of fundamental western taxonomic divisions: fish, herpetofauna (amphibians and reptiles), birds, and mammals (Table 7-12). For the latter groupings, the Cherokee toad/frog, salamander/lizard, and turtle complexes are combined with the **inada** 'snake' life form, thereby corresponding with the western herpetofauna division; the bat/flying squirrel complex is lumped with the **nvhgi-dikanasaĭdv** 'mammal' life form, correlating with

[5]Invertebrates are not considered because a complete inventory of the total number of such western species present in the Cherokee area would be cumbersome and is, moreover, irrelevant to most zooarchaeological analyses (see Chapter 3).

Table 7-11
Relative Diversity of Cherokee Folk Terminal Taxa (n=146)
and Western Scientific Species (n=521)
According to Major Cherokee Groupings

Major Cherokee Grouping	Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa	Number of Western Species	Relative Diversity %
Life Forms			
ajaʔdi 'fish'	14	114	12.3%
inada 'snake'	9	22	40.9%
jisgwa 'bird'	68	246	27.6%
nvhgi-dikanasaʔdv 'mammal'	36	64	56.3%
Total--Life Forms	127	446	28.5%
Ambiguously Affiliated (bat/ flying squirrel)	2	14	14.3%
Unaffiliated (toad/frog)	7	14	50.0%
(salamander/lizard)	7	36	19.4%
(turtle)	3	11	27.3%
Total--Ambiguous/ Unaffiliated	19	75	25.3%
Totals	146	521	28.0%

Table 7-12
Relative Diversity of Cherokee Folk Terminal Taxa (n=146)
and Western Scientific Species (n=521)
According to Major Western Groupings

Major Western Grouping	Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa	Number of Western Species	Relative Diversity %
Fish	14	114	12.3%
Herpetofauna	26	83	31.3%
Birds	68	246	27.6%
Mammals	38	78	48.7%
Total	146	521	28.0%

the mammalian division. The western taxa, on the other hand, consist of 521 vertebrate species (Appendix A [Table A-4]); these are also partitioned according to the major Cherokee as well as the major western taxonomic divisions. The total number of Cherokee terminal taxa and western species and the percentage of relative diversity for each major taxonomic grouping are presented in Tables 7-11 and 7-12.

The calculations in Table 7-12 demonstrate that the Cherokee recognized 38 kinds of mammals in contrast to 78 species noted by western zoological systematists; that is, the former distinguished 48.7 percent of the diversity of mammals observed by mammalogists. The variety noted for other groupings, however, is much less vis-a-vis that designated by western science: herpetofauna--26 terminal taxa to 83 species, or 31.3 percent; birds--68 terminal taxa to 246 species, or 27.6 percent; and fish--14 terminal taxa to 114 species, or 12.3 percent.

"Special" Classifications

The Cherokee animal semantic domain may be represented by a number of arrangements in addition to the "general," or taxonomic, one. Such alternative schemes are "special purpose" classifications and are organized according to nonhierarchical (nontaxonomic) structural frameworks.

Fifteen "special" classificatory arrangements are described here. Some of these classifications may be incomplete, and, in such cases, only a partial reconstruction is presented.

Habitat

The classification of animals according to habitat was a dominant theme throughout recorded oral traditions, especially within the mythology. The universe was viewed as comprised of three major worlds, each having certain animals associated with it.

The Under World was primarily occupied by water-dwelling animals, including "fish" invertebrates, fish, toads/frogs, salamanders/lizards, water turtles, snakes, and two aquatic mammals--**doya** 'beaver' and **jiya** 'otter.' The Middle, or This, World was inhabited by terrestrial mammals. The Upper World was the residence of birds by reason of their ability to fly. A number of animals, however, did not neatly fit within this tripartite scheme and were probably considered either ambiguous (**daksi** 'terrapin,' **dlameha** 'bat,' and **tewa** 'flying squirrel') or anomalous (insects/worms/spiders and introduced animals such as **sihgwa** 'pig/hog' and **wahga** 'cattle') (Table 7-13). (See Chapter 6.)

Table 7-13
Cherokee Animal Classification
by Habitat--
Animals Associated With the
Under, Middle, and Upper Worlds

Under World	Middle World	Upper World	Ambiguities	Anomalies
"fish" invertebrates	**nvhgi-dikanasa!dv** 'mammal':part	**jisgwa** 'bird'	**daksi** 'terrapin'	insects/ worms/ spiders
aja!di 'fish'			**dlameha** 'bat'	**wadulisi** 'bee'
toads/frogs			**tewa** 'flying squirrel'	**jitaga** 'chicken'
salamanders/ lizards				**wesa** 'cat'
saligugi 'water turtle'				**sogwili** 'horse'
ulanawa 'softshell turtle'				**sihgwa** 'pig/hog'
inada 'snake'				**ahwi-ahanulvhi** 'goat'
doya 'beaver'				**ahwi-unodena** 'sheep'
jiya 'otter'				**wahga** 'cattle'

Edibility

This "special" classification as well as those of the next three sections (food, wild/domestic, and native/introduced) pertains to human/animal relationships and hence the cultural utility of various faunal classes. The edibility classification is a binary one that is partitioned into those animals whose edible products were recognized as food and generally consumed, though occasionally prohibited under certain circumstances, and those that were never eaten, except in extraordinary situations. It is undetermined whether the classes encompassed in the latter group were consciously tabooed, i.e., considered potential food but nevertheless forbidden, or simply not regarded as food.

Information regarding edibility is scattered throughout recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts. The first division included **jisdvna** 'crayfish,' **unoga** 'trout/bass,' **jitaga** 'chicken,' **gvna** 'turkey,' **yona** 'bear,' **ahwi** 'deer,' and **yansa** 'buffalo.' Examples within the second category were **jisgagili** 'red crayfish,' **tlvdegwa** 'eel,' **kanvjuhwa** 'fish hawk/osprey,' **waguli** 'whip-poor-will,' **dlameha** 'bat,' **wahya** 'wolf,' and **wesa** 'cat' (Table 7-14). (See Chapters 5 and 6 and Appendices B and C [Table C-3].)

Table 7-14
Cherokee Animal Classification
by Edibility

Animals Generally Eaten	Animals Generally Not Eaten
vle 'locust'	**jitaga** 'chicken'
jasgayli 'yellow-jacket'	**tvdasdi** 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'
wadulisi 'bee'	**gvna** 'turkey'
jisdvna 'crayfish'	**guhgwe** 'quail/ partridge/ bobwhite'
adaja 'mountain/ speckled trout'	**jisdu** 'rabbit'
amakta 'minnow'	**ogana** 'groundhog/ woodchuck'
ugvsdelli 'hornyhead fish'	**saloli** 'gray squirrel'
daloge 'hog sucker'	**doya** 'beaver'
agola 'sun perch'	**yona** 'bear'
unoga 'trout/bass'	**kvhli** 'raccoon'
gasadi 'drumfish/ buffalo fish'	**sihgwa** 'pig/hog'
walosi 'toad'	**sihgwa ujetsdi** 'opossum'
dusdu 'spring frog'	**ahwi** 'deer'
gwalga 'type of frog'	**ahwi egwa** 'elk'
juwa 'water dog' mud puppy'	**ahwi-ahanulvhi** 'goat'
duweka 'spring lizard'	**yansa** 'buffalo'
gajedali 'crane/heron'	**wahga** 'cattle'
	jisgagili 'red crayfish'
	tlvdegwa 'eel'
	kawonu kayvsoli 'pike'
	julisdanali 'blue catfish'
	usgwohli egwa 'mud catfish/ bullhead/ horned pout'
	kanegwodi 'water snake/ water moccasin'
	suli 'buzzard'a
	kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk/ osprey'
	awohalli 'eagle'
	juwoduhi jugidahli 'golden eagle'
	tawodi 'hawk'
	tawodlegwa 'red-tailed hawk'
	digatohnvhida 'marsh/chicken hawk'
	digatisgi 'rabbit hawk'
	sanuwa usdi 'pigeon hawk'
	gigi 'sparrow hawk'
	giyagiya 'type of hawk'
	galvsahyoha 'woodcock'
	wahuhi 'screech owl'
	tsgili 'great horned owl'
	uguku 'hooting owl'
	waguli 'whip-poor-will'
	jatla 'kingfisher'
	koga 'crow'
	kolana 'raven'
	jiji 'winter wren'
	tojuhwa 'redbird'
	tinegwa 'mole'
	dlameha 'bat'
	jisdeji 'mouse/rat'
	jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/rat'
	jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat'
	jisdeji usdi 'house mouse'
	jisdeji utana 'house rat'
	kanikwsa 'black rat'
	gihli 'dog'b
	wahya 'wolf'
	juhla 'gray fox'
	juhla wodige 'red fox'
	dila 'skunk/polecat'c
	tlvdaji 'panther/ mountain lion'
	wesa 'cat'
	sogwili 'horse'd

[a]A small quantity of buzzard flesh was consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics (see Chapter 6).

[b]According to one account, a feast of dog meat was consumed in preparation for a war expedition (see Chapter 6).

[c]Skunk meat was consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics (see Chapter 6).

[d]Horse meat was consumed in times of starvation (see Chapter 5).

Food

Two food classifications involve the grouping of animals as to their meat products and are derived from linguistic evidence. The Cherokee verh 'to eat' is a classificatory transitive verh (see Chapter 2) and exhihits three different root forms according to the semantic category of the object.

agila 'he/she is eating it (a single solid food)'
root = /-g-/

asdigila 'he/she is eating it (rigid)'
root = /-sdig-/

gahyela 'he/she is eating it (flexihle)'
root = /-hye-/

The first verb, **agila**, was used for eating the meat of large game, e.g., **ahwi** 'venison.' The verb, **gahyela**, on the other hand, was for eating fish, birds, or small game (Mooney 1885:126,233).

The other food classification is hased upon the noun **hawiya** 'meat.' This term was applied to the edible flesh of any animal considered food with the exception of fish. Fish meat was simply designated as **ajaldi** 'fish.' (See Chapter 4.)

Wild/Domestic

The contrast between wild and domestic animals constitutes another classificatory scheme. The former were called **inagehi**, literally 'forest dweller,' and included

all game animals, particularly mammals and birds, e.g., **ahwi** 'deer' and **gvna** 'turkey.' Domestic animals were referred to as **ulvnida**, also glossed as 'tame,' e.g., **jitaga** 'chicken' and **wahga** 'cattle.' (See Chapter 4.)

Native/Introduced Correspondences

One classification obtained from early ethnographic/historical accounts pertains to the relationship between several important native wild animals and those introduced domestic animals that eventually replaced them, thereby suggesting a correspondence, and thus another arrangement, based upon cultural utilization. **Ahwi** 'deer' was equated with **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep,' possibly because deer skins and later wool served as necessary raw material for making clothes. **Yona** 'bear' and **sihgwa** 'pig/hog' were closely associated because both were rich sources of fat for cooking purposes. Finally, **yansa** 'buffalo' and **wahga** 'cattle' were related; the former and subsequently the latter were an important source of meat, and their horns were modified for medicinal functions (Table 7-15). (See Chapters 5 and 6.)

Color

This "special" arrangement and that of the following section (limited resemblance) are based upon morphological criterial attributes and are inferred from the animal

Table 7-15
Cherokee Animal Classification--
Native vis-a-vis Introduced Animals

Native Animal		Introduced Animal Equivalent	
yona	'bear'	**sihgwa**	'pig/hog'
ahwi	'deer'	**ahwi-unodena**	'sheep'
yansa	'buffalo'	**wahga**	'cattle'

nomenclature, though such data are primarily used for determining the "general" classification, or folk taxonomy. Unlike the latter, however, these alternative schemes consist of classes created from a very few, rather than a large number of, physical features.

Animal classification according to color involves two major groupings. All animal names, with the exception of birds, might be modified by the term **wodigeli** 'brown' or 'red.' Birds, on the other hand, were distinguished in regard to these two colors with **wodigeli** denoting 'brown' and **gigageli** meaning 'red.' (See Chapter 4.)

Limited Morphological and/or Behavioral Resemblance

This classification encompasses several pairs of animal classes that are taxonomically unrelated, i.e., belong to different life forms, but are, nevertheless, labelled by the same lexical term, thereby suggesting the recognition of some sort of limited, possibly morphological or, in one case, behavioral, resemblance between them. Six paired examples have been ascertained. The lexical form **kamama utana** 'elephant,' which literally means 'big butterfly,' probably refers to a supposed resemblance of the long trunk and flapping ears of the pachyderm to the proboscis and wings, respectively, of the butterfly. **Tinegwa**, the name for the 'mole,' or 'huge louse,' may reflect the perception of two shared traits, one physical and one behavioral: Both creatures have small heads

with very minute inconspicuous eyes and are pests that crawl around in a nonvisible fashion. The words **ahwi** 'deer,' **galagina** 'buck,' or 'male deer,' and **jisdvna** 'crayfish' are secondarily defined as 'large horned beetle'; the male of the latter class has greatly developed, sometimes branched, mandibles, suggesting the antlers of a male deer or pincer-like claws of a crayfish. Furthermore, the term **galagina** 'buck,' or 'male deer,' is also glossed as 'gobbler,' or 'male turkey,' possibly referring to the morphological similarity between antler tines and cockspurs, respectively. (See Chapter 4.)

Mode of Reproduction

The final six sections involve "special" classifications pertaining solely to behavioral features and are derived from the animal nomenclature (mode of reproduction and pattern of locomotion) and recorded oral traditions (feeding habit, diurnal/nocturnal, transformation, and miscellaneous behavior).

A classification based upon mode of reproduction is demonstrated by the existence of two terms signifying 'young animal,' which, in turn, were used with the names of particular animal classes: **alda** for those born in a litter or hatched, i.e., multiple birth; and **agina**, those of a single birth. The animal classes included within this binary system encompassed a number of birds and mammals (Table 7-16). (See Chapter 4.)

Table 7-16
Cherokee Animal Classification
by Mode of Reproduction

alda 'young animal (multiple birth)'		**agina** 'young animal (single birth)'	
jisgwa	'bird'	**sogwili**	'horse'
jisdu	'rabbit'	**ahwi**	'deer'
gihli	'dog'	**ahwi egwa**	'elk'
wahya	'wolf'	**ahwi-ahanulvhi**	'goat'
juhla	'gray fox'	**ahwi-unodena**	'sheep'
juhla wodige	'red fox'	**yansa**	'buffalo'
yona	'bear'	**wahga**	'cattle'
wesa	'cat'		
sihgwa	'pig/hog'		
sihgwa ujetsdi	'opossum'		

Pattern of Locomotion

This behaviorally related classification, also derived from the animal nomenclature, possibly refers to patterns of locomotion. This is suggested by the lumping of flying insects with birds into one group under the label **aninohilidohi** 'flyers.' (See Chapter 4.)

Feeding Habit

Animals, particularly birds, were sometimes grouped in certain sacred formulas in regard to their feeding habits. Insect-eating birds, such as **ganvsdawa** 'sandpiper,' **guwisguwi** 'large snipe,' and **jagosda** 'snipe,' were invoked for removing intestinal worms. Likewise, piscivorous birds --**gajedali** 'crane,' **kanvjuhwa** 'fish hawk/osprey,' and **jatla** 'kingfisher'--were called upon whenever a malady was attributed to a fish (Table 7-17). (See Chapter 6.)

Diurnal/Nocturnal

Animals were also behaviorally distinguished as to whether they were most active during the day or at night, i.e., exhibited diurnal or nocturnal habits, respectively. Those nocturnal animals specifically cited in the mythology were owls (**wahuhi** 'screech owl,' **tsgili** 'great horned owl,' and **uguku** 'hooting owl'), **tlvdaji** 'panther/mountain lion,' and **wahya** 'wolf.' (See Chapter 6.)

Table 7-17
Cherokee Animal Classification
by Feeding Habit

Insectivorous		Piscivorous	
ganvsdawa	'sandpiper'	**gajedali**	'crane'
guwisguwi	'large snipe'	**kanvjuhwa**	'fish hawk/ osprey'
jagosda	'snipe'	**jatla**	'kingfisher'

Transformation

The belief in several animal transformations, as cited in recorded oral traditions, constitutes another classsification relating to hehavior. It should be noted, however, that the evidence for this phenomenon, according to the Cherokee, was based upon certain morphological features commonly shared hetween two, otherwise taxonomically unrelated, animal classes.

Judigwanujugi 'scissor-tailed flycatcher,' a rare visitor in the Cherokee country, was helieved to be a metamorphosed **oliga** 'redhorse fish' as both possessed red spots and long forked tails. **Ugvsdelli** 'hornyhead fish' appeared only in the spring, having horns, or projections, on its nose and red spots on it head, and eventually changed into a **giga-juholi** 'bloody-mouth lizard,' as evidenced by their similar bright red coloring and the fact that the fish disappeared, i.e., lost its hue, at approximately the time the lizard came out. It remains unclear, however, whether all members of these particular classes underwent such transformations into very different kinds of animals or if this phenomenon was limited to only certain individuals. (See Chapter 6.)

Miscellaneous Behavior

Two additional classifications hased upon other kinds of behavioral characteristics have heen gleaned from

the sacred formulas. One such grouping involved **dlanusi** 'leech,' **kanvjuhwa** 'fish hawk/osprey,' **jatla** 'kingfisher,' **jisdeji daloni** 'weasel,' **svgi** 'mink,' and **jiya** 'otter.' Together, these were called "penetrators," or piercing agents, because of their ability to seize and hold their prey or suck its life blood.

The other behaviorally related classification lumped several insectivorous birds that were also noted for their speed and agility of flight. These creatures were usually associated with the ball play and warfare and included **anigosdayi** 'chimney swift,' **henilu** 'wood pewee,' **gulisguli** 'great crested flycatcher,' and **dludlu** 'purple martin' (Table 7-18). (See Chapter 6.)

Table 7-18
Miscellaneous Cherokee Animal Classification
by Behavior

Penetrators		Swift Flyers	
dlanusi	'leech'	**anigosdayi**	'chimney swift'
kanvjuhwa	'fish hawk/ osprey'	**henilu**	'wood pewee'
jatla	'kingfisher'	**gulisguli**	'great crested flycatcher'
jisdeji daloni	'weasel'	**dludlu**	'purple martin'
svgi	'mink'		
jiya	'otter'		

CHAPTER 8
THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ANIMALS AS REFLECTED IN CHEROKEE ANIMAL NOMENCLATURE AND CLASSIFICATIONS

> Folk science is for the most part applied science, . . . To properly appreciate the achievements of folk science, we need to investigate its practical significance as assiduously as we have its formal order.
>
> Eugene Hunn (1982:831)

The cultural significance of animals within a society is reflected in particular aspects of its nomenclature and classifications. Such data are therefore examined vis-a-vis recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts as an alternative means of gaining insight into the relevance of various recognized fauna within the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Cherokee culture.

Categories of Cultural Significance

Information regarding Cherokee behavioral and attitudinal responses toward their fauna as gleaned from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts has been presented in preceding chapters (see

Chapters 5 and 6) and is employed here as the basis for establishing a standard measure of cultural significance. Each animal terminal taxon is quantitatively evaluated, or scored, in terms of the variety of ways in which it was culturally relevant. These include both everyday secular (e.g., food, clothing, and tools) and ideological/ritual contexts, the latter encompassing beliefs and ritual uses as well as myths, sacred formulas, and dances in which the animal played a dominant role (Appendix E).

These individual terminal taxa are subsequently grouped according to a quadripartite typology of relative cultural significance, or importance. Animals having a score of zero (36 of the total, or 17.6%) are placed within the category of no significance; examples include mostly insects, such as **damaga** 'horse fly' and **chuhga** 'flea,' and birds, such as **duweyela** 'nuthatch' and **jisgwogwo** 'robin.' Taxa tallying one or two points are the most common (96, or 47.1%) and are considered of minor relevance, e.g., **gahlgwogi** 'mole cricket,' **kawonu kayvsoli** 'pike,' and **jagwolide** 'bluebird.' Moderately significant animals exhibit counts ranging from three to eight, inclusive (50, or 24.5%), as exemplified by **kanvjuhwa** 'fish hawk/osprey,' **tvdasdi** 'pheasant/ruffed grouse,' and **guhgwe** 'quail/ partridge/bobwhite.' Finally, animals of major significance have scores of nine or more (22, or 10.8%) and consist predominantly of mammals, e.g., **yona** 'bear,' **ahwi** 'deer,' and **yansa** 'buffalo' (Tables 8-1 and 8-2).

Table 8-1
Distribution of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=204)
(by Major Western Grouping)
Among Four Categories of Cultural Significance

Major Western Grouping	Cultural Significance				Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
	No Sig. (0)	Minor Sig. (1-2)	Moderate Sig. (3-8)	Major Sig. (9+)	
Invertebrates	11 (25.0%)	25 (56.8%)	8 (18.2%)	0 (0%)	44
Fish	4 (22.2%)	10 (55.6%)	4 (22.2%)	0 (0%)	18
Herpetofauna	6 (19.4%)	18 (58.1%)	5 (16.1%)	2 (6.5%)	31
Birds	14 (19.7%)	28 (39.4%)	24 (33.8%)	5 (7.0%)	71
Mammals	1 (2.5%)	15 (37.5%)	9 (22.5%)	15 (37.5%)	40
Total	36 (17.6%)	96 (47.1%)	50 (24.5%)	22 (10.8%)	204

Table 8-2
Summary of Distribution of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=204)
Among Four Categories of Cultural Significance

Cherokee Terminal Taxa	Cultural Significance: No Sig. (0)	Minor Sig. (1-2)	Moderate Sig. (3-8)	Major Sig. (9+)	Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
Number of Cherokee Terminal Taxa	36	96	50	22	204
Percent (%) of Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa	17.6%	47.1%	24.5%	10.8%	100.0%

Appendix E involves a listing of each animal terminal taxon with its behavior/attitude response count as well as its nomenclatural (noun category and lexeme type) and general classificatory, i.e., taxonomic (folk biological category and folk/science correspondence), status. In subsequent sections of this chapter, correlations made among these different sets of data are combined with other analytical procedures in order to delineate the ways in which Cherokee lexicon and classifications may be indicative of the cultural significance of various fauna.

Nomenclatural Considerations of Cultural Significance

The animal nomenclature may, to a certain extent, serve as an index of the significance of animals within the Cherokee culture. This information is scattered throughout the lexicon and may be systematically discovered in the results previously obtained from three of the major aspects of the nomenclatural analysis: noun categories, linguistic processes in name formation, and general semantic patterns (see Chapter 4).

Noun Categories

The internal linguistic structure of the animal names and their distribution among several noun categories may be indicative of the relative importance of their referents.

Animals that are most familiar and play a relevant role in a society's way of life should be designated by simple grammatical forms; their frequent use precludes the need for more explanatory names. Animals of little or no cultural significance and thus seldom or never used, on the other hand, should tend to be labelled by complex forms (i.e., inflected or derived nouns, or composite terms) that are, for example, expressive of the referent's physical appearance or behavior; this ensures their recognition and identification by the speaker-hearer.

Within Cherokee animal nomenclature, uninflected nouns, i.e., single root morphemes, constitute the greatest proportion in all four of the established categories of cultural signficance. Nevertheless, the likelihood of an animal having a simple linguistic label steadily increases with its relative importance: 44.4 percent of the animals of no significance is represented by uninflected nouns; those of minor (55.2%) and moderate (62.0%) relevance exhibit somewhat higher percentages; animals of major significance demonstrate by far the largest proportion (81.8%). Furthermore, the latter category contains only a small number of more complex morphological forms: two derived nouns (9.1%), two composite terms (9.1%), and no inflected nouns (Table 8-3).

Table 8-3
Distribution of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=204)
(by Noun Category)
Among Four Categories of Cultural Significance

Noun Category	Cultural Significance: No Sig. (0)	Minor Sig. (1-2)	Moderate Sig. (3-8)	Major Sig. (9+)	Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
Uninflected Noun (UN)	16 (44.4%)	53 (55.2%)	31 (62.0%)	18 (81.8%)	118 (57.8%)
Inflected Noun (IN)	2 (5.6%)	4 (4.2%)	4 (8.0%)	0 (0%)	10 (4.9%)
Derived Noun (DN)	7 (19.4%)	6 (6.3%)	4 (8.0%)	2 (9.1%)	19 (9.3%)
Composite Term (CT)	9 (25.0%)	24 (25.0%)	6 (12.0%)	2 (9.1%)	41 (20.1%)
Undetermined Type of Noun (UDN)	2 (5.6%)	9 (9.4%)	5 (10.0%)	0 (0%)	16 (7.8%)
Total	36	96	50	22	204

Linguistic Processes in Name Formation

The three major linguistic processes--external borrowing, semantic shift (extension and replacement), and descriptive derivation--involved in the formation and modification of the nomenclature (see Chapters 3 and 4) provide more substantial information pertaining to the cultural significance of specific animals.

Borrowing of foreign vocabulary words as labels for particular nonnative fauna suggests that the speakers of the source languages may have been the agents of introduction of such biota. As certain Old World animals were brought into the Cherokee area following European contact, several readily accessible lexical forms were simultaneously imported in order to accommodate the new cultural items. The terms **wahga** 'cattle' and **wesa** 'cat' were both obtained from the Spanish (see Chapter 4), who, in turn, were probably responsible for the Cherokee's earliest familiarity with these animals. **Jitaga** 'chicken,' on the other hand, was borrowed from the English language (see Chapter 4), thereby implying that the British originally introduced this bird.

The process of semantic shift is informative in regard to other cultural aspects of the recognized fauna. Extension of the meaning of certain animal names to include additional cultural forms or concepts on the basis of some semantic similarity (see Chapters 3 and 4) appears, in a few cases, to refer indirectly to the way in which such

biota was generally used. Following European contact, the term **daksi** 'terrapin' was expanded in meaning to signify 'padlock,' an introduced cultural item, possibly referring to this turtle's behavior of closing its shell securely (see Chapter 4). This extension seems to imply also that this turtle was primarily valued for its well-compacted and intact shell. Indeed, such a conjecture is amply reinforced by recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts, which are replete with references to the utilization of terrapin shells in many ritual activities (see Chapter 6). The word **wadulisi** 'bee' also means 'honey' (see Chapter 4), which was the most important product derived from this introduced domestic insect (see Chapter 5). The term **galagina** 'buck,' or 'male deer,' is also glossed as 'gobbler,' or 'male turkey' (see Chapter 4), possibly referring to the morphological similarity between antler tines and cockspurs, respectively, and, moreover, to their use as arrow points and, at times, ornamentation on men's dress (see Chapters 5 and 6). Finally, the word **julasgi**, whose referent is 'alligator,' a nonlocal animal known since aboriginal times through association with other Southeast Indian groups, was extended in meaning, following European contact, to signify 'iron pot,' an imported trade item, probably based upon the toughness of this reptile's skin (see Chapter 4). Although there are no records documenting any Cherokee utilization of this animal, it is wildly

surmised here that its skins may have been imported for specific purposes.

Replacement, a less common type of meaning shift that entails the complete transfer of a particular vocabulary word from denoting one kind of animal to signifying another (see Chapters 3 and 4), reflects a change in the relative cultural importance of its faunal referents. The term **sihgwa** was originally the name applied to the native opossum; with the introduction of swine following European contact, this word was transferred to the latter animal, and the opossum, in turn, became referred to as **sihgwa ujetsdi**, or 'grinning pig/hog' (see Chapter 4). This semantic replacement may indicate the increasing importance of swine within the Cherokee culture as well as a corresponding decline in the role of native fauna such as opossum. The same phenomenon seems to have occurred between the honey bee and bumble bee, another pair of Old World and indigenous animals, respectively, though this is not recorded in any of the early sources. According to the linguistic analysis previously presented, the word **wadulisi** was probably first used for the bumble bee but, following European contact, was switched to the introduced honey bee; the former insect was subsequently called **wadulisi utana**, or 'big bee' (see Chapter 4). The honey bee was domesticated for its honey and beeswax (see Chapter 5). It should be noted that, in both of the exemplified pairs, semantic replacement resulted in the labelling of the

introduced animals by the simpler (unmarked) linguistic form, thereby further indicating their acceptance and greater importance among the Cherokee.

Descriptive derivation, the third major linguistic process, involves the formation of certain animal names by the addition of a suffix or of another root or stem to an already existing word. Such newly created words are thus derived nouns or composite terms, respectively (see Chapters 3 and 4), and, in several of these examples, the literal meaning indicates the primary cultural use of the animal named. The word **sogwili** 'horse' is a derived noun meaning 'burden bearer' (see Chapter 4), reflecting this animal's essential role in carrying material goods as well as in serving as an efficient means of transportation (see Chapter 5). The term **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep,' on the other hand, is a composite term signifying 'woolly deer' (see Chapter 4); this domesticate was mostly used for its wool production (see Chapter 5).

General Semantic Patterns

General semantic patterns, i.e., the kinds of meanings, or semantic dimensions, represented in the nomenclature, may, at times, be informative regarding important cultural distinctions between certain animals of the same class. The marking of gender is one such illustrative example. Although this is usually expressed by the addition of an attributive to the name of the

animal, **agisi** for 'female animal' and **achvya** or **jukanvstahli** for 'male animal,' several exceptions do occur, which, in turn, are suggestive of sexually based differences in the functional relevance of their referents. The terms **wahga ganegi!ehi** 'milch cow,' literally 'milking cattle,' and **wahga julvhwisdanehi** 'ox,' or 'working cattle' (see Chapter 4), reflect the essential role of these domesticates in dairy production and as draft animals, respectively (see Chapter 5). The term **galagina** is glossed as both 'buck,' or 'male deer,' and 'gobbler,' or 'male turkey' (see Chapter 4), possibly implying that they were more highly valued and/or more frequently used vis-a-vis their female counterparts. This inference is supported by recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts, that is, their prominent role in the mythology and the use of antlers and cockspurs for secular as well as for ritual purposes (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Classificatory Considerations of Cultural Significance

The animal classifications, "general purpose" as well as "special purpose" schemes, may also reflect the significance of animals within the Cherokee culture. This information may be ascertained in several major parts of the classificatory analysis: folk/science correspondences,

relative diversity, and arrangements primarily based upon cultural utilitarian concerns. The first two are analytical measures involving a cross-cultural comparison between the Cherokee "general" classification, or folk taxonomy, and that of western science, whereas the third entails an examination of the "special," or alternative, classifications (see Chapter 7).

Cross-Cultural Comparison

Folk/science correspondences

The degree of correspondence of folk terminal taxa to scientific species may be indicative of the relative importance of these classes (Berlin 1973:269; Berlin et al. 1966, 1974:103). Animals that are culturally relevant should be conceptually distinguished from one another by their assignment to separate taxa that, consequently, exhibit a one-to-one correspondence with or a greater differentiation than scientific species; this ensures accurate recognition of the appropriate cultural behavioral and attitudinal responses associated with each animal. Animals of little or no cultural significance, on the other hand, should be lumped into the same taxon with other morphologically similar organisms that also demonstrate a relative lack of importance, i.e., lesser differentiation; the paucity or total absence of defined cultural responses precludes the need for more precise taxonomic distinctions.

Within the Cherokee folk taxonomy, terminal taxa of all four categories of cultural significance display a fairly strong tendency for mapping in a one-to-one fashion with western species. Nevertheless, the likelihood of an animal having such a correspondence steadily increases with its relative importance: 44.4 percent of the animals of no significance exhibits this type of mapping; those of minor (58.3%) and moderate (72.0%) relevance manifest even higher percentages; animals of major significance demonstrate an overwhelming proportion (90.9%). Taxa of lesser differentiation, as predicted, show a reverse trend: They are more highly represented among nonsignificant fauna (38.9%) and gradually decrease with relative importance --30.2 percent of minor, 20.0 percent of moderate, and 9.1 percent of major significant taxa. Taxa of greater differentiation, however, do not conform to the expected pattern: The only two taxa of this type, **daga** 'June-bug' and **daliyodaga** 'grubworm,' were insects of minor significance and were probably classified separately because of notable contrasts in their gross morphology rather than for cultural reasons (Table 8-4).

Relative diversity

The relative amount of diversity, that is, the number of folk terminal taxa vis-a-vis that of scientific species recognized within each of the major taxonomic groupings, or

Table 8-4
Distribution of Cherokee Terminal Taxa (n=204)
(by Folk/Science Correspondence)
Among Four Categories of Cultural Significance

Folk/ Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance				Total Cherokee Terminal Taxa
	No Sig. (0)	Minor Sig. (1-2)	Moderate Sig. (3-8)	Major Sig. (9+)	
One-to-One (OTO)	16 (44.4%)	56 (58.3%)	36 (72.0%)	20 (90.9%)	128 (62.7%)
Lesser Differentiation (LD)	14 (38.9%)	29 (30.2%)	10 (20.0%)	2 (9.1%)	55 (27.0%)
Greater Differentiation (GD)	0 (0%)	2 (2.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1.0%)
Not Applicable (--)	6 (16.7%)	9 (9.4%)	4 (8.0%)	0 (0%)	19 (9.3%)
Total	36	96	50	22	204

divisions (i.e., fundamental western taxonomic divisions:[1] fish, herpetofauna, birds, and mammals) (see Chapter 7), may also be suggestive of the relative importance of animals (Hunn 1980:2). Groups that are, as a whole, of high cultural significance should be represented by greater relative diversities than those of lesser cultural relevance for reasons already cited in the preceding discussion of folk/science correspondences.

Within the Cherokee folk taxonomy, mammals demonstrate the highest relative diversity (48.7%), thereby indicating their greater importance, whereas herpetofauna (31.3%), birds (27.6%), and fish (12.3%) played a less prominent role (see Chapter 7--text and Table 7-12). These percentages are consistent with recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts: Mammals constituted the greatest proportion within the category of major cultural significance (see Table 8-1) and hence were very important.

"Special" Classifications

"Special," or alternative, classifications are often based upon cultural interests and therefore may be informative regarding certain behavioral and attitudinal responses to animals. Two of these arrangements are illustrative examples of utilitarian considerations. The

[1]Invertebrates are not included in the analysis of relative diversity (see Chapters 3 and 7).

edibility classification specifies those animals that were generally consumed, though occasionally prohibited, and those that were never eaten, except in extraordinary situations, e.g., **gvna** 'turkey' versus **waguli** 'whip-poor-will,' respectively (see Chapter 7). The native/introduced correspondence classification possibly refers to similarities in the cultural uses of particular animals: **Ahwi** 'deer' and later **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep' provided skins and wool, respectively, for making clothes; **yona** 'bear' and **sihgwa** 'pig/hog' were rich sources of fat for cooking purposes; and **yansa** 'buffalo' and later **wahga** 'cattle' supplied meat and horns for food and medicinal functions, respectively (see Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 9
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CHEROKEE ZOOARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD AND STRATEGIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

> So what do words have to do with bones?
>
> An Anonymous Anthropologist

Archaeologists are increasingly recognizing the importance of incorporating folk semantic analyses into their studies of past cultures. While they have acknowledged the value of such an approach (see Deetz 1977), few have actually attempted a project of this magnitude (see Beaudry 1980; Flannery and Marcus 1976; Marcus and Flannery 1978). One major reason is because no comprehensive methodology for conducting folk semantic studies of past human populations has ever been delineated. This dissertation has presented such a methodology and has demonstrated its application by reconstructing the folk zoological world of the Cherokee Indians who lived in eastern Tennessee, U.S.A., during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The Cherokee animal semantic domain, or folk zoological system, was examined in four analytical stages. First, the Cherokee animal nomenclature was delineated.

This was followed by an examination of all information pertaining to the significance of animals in secular as well as in ideological and ritual contexts in the Cherokee culture as derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts. Next, the Cherokee animal classifications were reconstructed based upon inferences drawn from the results of the first two analyses. Finally, the Cherokee animal nomenclature and classifications were examined as an alternative means of gaining insight into the significance of animals within the Cherokee culture.

The inferences pertaining to the cultural significance of animals, which have been drawn from the animal nomenclature and classifications (see Chapter 8), are integrated here with information previously derived from recorded oral traditions and early ethnographic/historical accounts (see Chapters 5 and 6). Together they serve as the basis for generating implications regarding the Cherokee zooarchaeological record. Ten implications are listed here, each followed by a specification of the data and/or analyses upon which it was based.

1. Animals classified as edible and generally consumed, though occasionally prohibited under certain circumstances, should be present in the zooarchaeological record. Animals regarded as unfit for consumption and therefore never eaten, on the other hand, should be totally absent with the following possible exceptions: those

animals whose meat consumption was permitted in extraordinary situations, e.g., huzzard, dog, skunk, and horse; and/or those that were usually killed for various nonfood purposes, e.g., pike (gar) and bat.
["special" classifications; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

2. Among the major animal groupings, mammals were hy far the most important and therefore should constitute the greater proportion, i.e., at least 50 percent, of the faunal remains. Fish, herpetofauna, and birds, on the other hand, were less prominent and consequently should exhibit much smaller representations zooarchaeologically.
[relative diversity; cultural significance scores; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

3. Deer was the single most important indigenous animal among the Cherokee. It served the greatest numher of both secular and ritual uses, which, in turn, were noted for their high frequency of occurrence. Hence, deer should be the most abundantly represented of the native fauna.
[cultural significance scores; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

4. The turkey was the most significant and most utilized of the indigenous fowl and therefore should form the greatest proportion of the native avian faunal remains.
[cultural significance scores; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

5. The prominence of the buck (male deer) and gobbler (male turkey) vis-a-vis their female counterparts within the Cherokee culture should be indicated by their greater frequency in the zooarchaeological record as evidenced by the presence of antlers and cockspurs, respectively. [semantic extension; general semantic patterns; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

6. The box turtle was the most culturally significant of the herpetofauna and was primarily valued for its well-compacted and intact shell. The utilization of its shell in many ritual activities should be reflected by its common occurrence among the faunal remains; furthermore, some evidence of modification for such uses should also be demonstrated, e.g., holes through which cords were threaded to tie box turtle rattles around the legs of women dancers. [semantic extension; cultural significance scores; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

7. The growing importance of swine following European contact should be indicated by a notable increase through time in the quantity of pig remains as this introduced domesticate became more firmly established within the Cherokee culture. Moreover, since it was primarily raised in order to compensate for the overexploitation and resultant depletion of large native animals, there should be a simultaneous decrease in the representation of such

fauna, particularly that of bear and deer, whose fat and meat products, respectively, it replaced.
[semantic replacement; "special" classifications; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

8. The diminishing availability, i.e., overexploitation, of the native buffalo and the replacement of its meat and horns by those of introduced domestic cattle during the eighteenth century should be evidenced by a gradual decrease through time in buffalo remains accompanied by an increase in cattle.
["special" classifications; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

9. The raising of certain introduced domesticates, such as sheep and horse, exclusively for their live products, e.g., wool and servile purposes, respectively, should preclude their presence in the zooarchaeological record. Since the horse, however, was sometimes killed and its meat consumed in times of crisis when food supplies were scarce as in the Cherokee War of 1760-1761, this animal should be minimally represented among the eighteenth-century faunal remains.
[descriptive derivation; recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

10. The introduction and subsequent raising of chicken as an alternative to hunting for native turkey should be indicated zooarchaeologically by a steady

increase through time of the former bird in conjunction with a decrease of the latter.
[recorded oral tradition data; early ethnographic/historical data]

The formulation of the foregoing implications, which are based upon the findings resulting from this folk zoological study, represents a significant step toward incorporating folk biological analyses into the research design of archaeological studies. These implications, in turn, could be tested vis-a-vis faunal samples recovered from a number of protohistoric Cherokee sites in eastern Tennessee. Correspondences between the two could then be delineated and discrepancies accounted for where possible.

In conducting such a proposed project, certain constraints must be borne in mind. Although most of the implications presented should be relatively easy to test against the Cherokee zooarchaeological record, several may be more problematical. For example, implication 5 requires that particular bones are present in the faunal sample in order to differentiate between males and females both in deer and in turkey. Those skeletal elements indicative of gender include the pelvis (Gilbert 1980:63-65), frontal bones, and antlers (Schwartz and Schwartz 1959:318-320, plate 57) in deer and, in turkey, the tarsometatarsi (Olsen 1968) and certain limb bones that may contain medullary bone (occurs in female birds throughout the egg-laying period) (Rick 1975). Implication 9 may also be difficult

to test because of the similarity between bison and cattle bones. Certain skeletal elements bearing diagnostic characters must be present in order to differentiate between these two animals (Lawrence 1951:37-40; Olsen 1960).

In spite of these limitations, the correlation of Cherokee folk zoology, or any other culture's folk zoology, with the corresponding zooarchaeological record is a profitable research endeavor. Moreover, the test implications generated from such folk zoological studies can serve to define the scope of the faunal analysis. The zooarchaeologist can thus address certain questions pertinent to the culture under study. For example, the effect of European contact and the degree of acculturation should be reflected in the relative representation of native versus introduced animals in the faunal sample.

As previously stated, this study is of significant value to archaeologists for its detailed presentation of the methodological procedures necessary for conducting folk semantic studies of past human populations. Although the protohistoric Cherokee Indians have served as the subject for the present study, the methodology employed here can also be used to reconstruct the folk zoological world of other protohistoric and historic native North American Indian groups. Furthermore, this methodology is not limited to the study of animal semantic domains. It can be applied as well to the study of other kinds of cultural data and their corresponding semantic domains. For

example, kinship terms can serve to delineate the structure of the society and therefore define the kinds of individuals occupying each household within a village site. Other possible studies can involve pottery vessel types, tools for hunting, or plants.

In addition to its methodological contribution, this study synthesizes a large body of data pertaining to the Cherokee language and culture of the protohistoric time period. Such information should be of considerable interest to Southeastern archaeologists, anthropological linguists, ethnologists, and ethnohistorians. Moreover, the reconstruction of the early Cherokee natural environment should be of value to zoologists, botanists, and geographers.

Nevertheless, the major contribution of this dissertation is its demonstration of how folk semantic studies can provide archaeologists with another tool useful for explicating past cultures. As one paleoethnobotanist has so cogently stated (Wetterstrom 1978:92-93):

> People's behavior is influenced both by the material conditions of their world and by the way in which they perceive that world. Although archaeology has focused primarily on the material conditions of past cultures, it could benefit from considering the cognitive systems of these societies as well.

APPENDIX A
FLORA AND FAUNA IN THE CHEROKEE AREA

Table A-1
Native (Indigenous) Flora Present in the Cherokee Area
During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries
as Recorded in Early Ethnographic and Primary Historical Accounts

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Pinus spp.	pine	tree	Piedmont	near Chestatee River, Hall/ Lumpkin County line, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:17
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,596
				near headwaters of Chauga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144
				near Chattooga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Pinus spp. (cont)	pine	tree	Blue Ridge	Unaka Mountains	Hawkins 1916:111
				Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
			Ridge and Valley	Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
				Grainger County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:62

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Pinus spp. (cont)	pine	tree	Ridge and Valley	northeast of Knoxville, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:63
				general area between Appalachian and Cumberland Mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:280
				summit, Rocky Ridge, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
				woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:69
				Greene County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:451

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Pinus spp. (cont)	pine	tree	Ridge and Valley	near Morristown, Hamblen County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:453
				south of Maryville, Blount County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:462
				near Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472
				south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:477
Pinus strobus Linnaeus	white pine	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,596
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Pinus strobus Linnaeus (cont)	white pine	tree	Blue Ridge	Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
Pinus palustris Miller	long-leaf pine	tree	Piedmont	near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24
				Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24,25
Pinus echinata Miller	short-leaf pine	tree	Piedmont	near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:267

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Picea rubens Sargent	red spruce, he balsam	tree	Blue Ridge	Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
Tsuga spp.	hemlock	tree	Blue Ridge	along Nantahala River, near Aquone, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:230,525
				near Chattooga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144
Tsuga canadensis (Linnaeus) Carriere	Canada hemlock, eastern hemlock	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,595
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Abies fraseri (Pursh) Poiret	Fraser's fir, she balsam	tree	Blue Ridge	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
				summit, Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849: 438-439
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
Juniperus virginiana Linnaeus	red cedar	tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Juniperus virginiana Linnaeus (cont)	red cedar	tree	Ridge and Valley	near Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
				along Powell River, northern Tennessee	Williams 1928:173
				along stream banks near Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:492
Arundinaria gigantea (Walter) Muhlenberg	cane	woody herb	Ridge and Valley	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Fries 1970:1985
				along Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:57
				along stream near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81,112

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Arundinaria gigantea (Walter) Muhlenberg (cont)	cane	woody herb	Ridge and Valley	along Tennessee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:148
				along Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:153,159
				along creek west of Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
				along Big Creek, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Walker 1888:45
				meadow near Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
				southwest of Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:480

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Arundinaria gigantea (Walter) Muhlenberg (cont)	cane	woody herb	Ridge and Valley	along Hiwassee River, Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:481,484
				near Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:486
				near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:493
			Cumber-land Plateau	along Sequatchie River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:38
				along stream south of Nickajack, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:45
				along Wills Creek, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Arundinaria gigantea (Walter) Muhlenberg (cont)	cane	woody herb	--	along creeks and rivers throughout Cherokee country	Hawkins 1916
				Cherokee country in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:124
				along rivers, Southeast area in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:132
				along waterways, Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:241
Trillium sessile Linnaeus	toad shade	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,651
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Trillium cernuum Linnaeus	nodding trillium	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,651
Convallaria majalis Linnaeus	lily of the valley	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,480
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:224,551
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,480
				Roan Mountain and Yellow Mountain, North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:56

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Erythronium americanum Ker	dog-tooth violet, trout lily, fawn lily	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,500
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904: 98-99
Uvularia sp.	bellwort	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,657
Allium canadense Linnaeus	wild onion	herb	Ridge and Valley	Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
Cypripedium sp.	lady's slipper	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,491

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Cypripedium calceolus var. pubescens (Willdenow) Correll)	yellow lady's slipper	herb	Blue Ridge	summit, Blue Ridge Mountains, near North Carolina/ Tennessee border	Thwaites 1904:57
Listeria smallii Wiegand	Appalachian twayblade, kidney-leaf twayblade	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,582
Cleistes divaricata (Linnaeus) Ames	spreading pogonia, rosebud orchid	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,444
Spiranthes sp.	ladies' tresses	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,582

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Salix spp.	willow	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
				along mountain streams, western North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:99
Populus deltoides Marshall	cottonwood	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,599
Juglans spp.	walnut	tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Juglans spp. (cont)	walnut	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472
			Cumberland Plateau	Wills Creek Valley, Willstown, De Kalb County, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
Juglans nigra Linnaeus	black walnut	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212, 544-545
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229, 544-545

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Carya spp.	hickory	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,544
				Big Savanna, Dawson County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:17
				Hickory Log, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19
			Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,544
				along Oloktah Creek, northern Georgia	Hawkins 1916:107

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Carya spp. (cont)	hickory	tree	Blue Ridge	near Hiwassee River	Hawkins 1916:108
				Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	near Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
				Chickamauga Creek Valley, near Chickamauga, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:113
				Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Carya spp. (cont)	hickory	tree	Ridge and Valley	south of Maryville, Blount County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:462
				near Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472
				south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:477,478
			Cumberland Plateau	Wills Creek Valley, Willstown, De Kalb County, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
			--	woods, Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:242

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Carya tomentosa (Poiret) Nuttall	mockernut, white-heart hickory	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,544
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,544
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,544
Corylus cornuta Marshall	beaked hazil-nut	shrub	Blue Ridge	mountains, western North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:99
Corylus americana Walter	hazil-nut	shrub	Ridge and Valley	Washington County, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Betula spp.	birch	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:69
Betula lenta Linnaeus	cherry birch	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,453
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,453
Fagus grandifolia Ehrhart	beech	tree	Ridge and Valley	near South West Point (near Kingston), Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:161
				Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Fagus grandifolia Ehrhart (cont)	beech	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
				along Clinch River, near Sneedville, Hancock County, Tennessee	Walker 1888: 45-46
				meadow near Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Castanea spp.	chestnut, chinquapin	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	woods near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:351

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Castanea spp. (cont)	chestnut, chinquapin	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	Chickamauga Creek Valley, near Chickamauga, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:113
				Washington County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:450
			Cumber-land Plateau	Wills Creek Valley, Willstown, De Kalb County, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
			--	woods, Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:242
				woods, Southeast area in general	Williams 1930:447

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Castanea dentata (Marshall) Borkhausen	American chestnut	tree	Piedmont	along Etowah River, Dawson County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
				along Etowah River, near Long Swamp, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
				along Etowah River, near Hickory Log, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19
			Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				lower and middle slopes, Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Castanea dentata (Marshall) Borkhausen (cont)	American chestnut	tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, near Fort Loudoun, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:84
				Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Castanea pumila (Linnaeus) Miller	chinquapin	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Quercus spp.	oak	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	near Chestatee River, Hall/ Lumpkin County line, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:17
				near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24
			Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus spp. (cont)	oak	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Sticcoa Creek Valley, Rabun County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:16
				near headwaters of Chauga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144
				near Hiwassee River	Hawkins 1916:108
				Unaka Mountains	Hawkins 1916:111
				along Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:144
				woods near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:351

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus spp. (cont)	oak	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
				higher slopes, Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
				Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
			Ridge and Valley	near Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
				Chickamauga Creek Valley, near Chickamauga, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:113

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus spp. (cont)	oak	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	near South West Point (near Kingston), Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:161
				woods near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Phillipe 1977:59
				woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:69
				Washington County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:450
				south of Maryville, Blount County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:462
				near Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus spp. (cont)	oak	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	meadow near Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
				near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:493
			Cumber-land Plateau	Wills Creek Valley, Willstown, De Kalb County, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
			--	Southeast area in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:132
				woods, Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:242
				woods, Southeast area in general	Williams 1930:447

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus alba Linnaeus	white oak	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,603
				along Etowah River, Dawson County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
				along creek near Etowah River, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19
				along Etowah River, near Hickory Log, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,603

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus alba Linnaeus (cont)	white oak	tree	Blue Ridge	higher slopes, Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				general area between Appalachian and Cumberland Mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:280
Quercus stellata Wangenheim	post oak	tree	Ridge and Valley	south of Tellico, Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:477
Quercus prinus Linnaeus	rock chestnut oak	tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,605

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Quercus prinus Linnaeus (cont)	rock chestnut oak	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Quercus prinoides Willdenow	dwarf chinquapin oak	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:267
				general area between Appalachian and Cumberland Mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:280
Quercus rubra Linnaeus	red oak	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212, 605-606
				along Etowah River, near Hickory Log, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus rubra Linnaeus (cont)	red oak	tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229, 605-606
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				general area between Appalachian and Cumberland Mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:280

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus velutina Lamarck	black oak	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,606
				near Euharlee Creek, near Aragon, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:22
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,606
				near headwaters of Chauga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Quercus velutina Lamarck (cont)	black oak	tree	Ridge and Valley	general area between Appalachian and Cumberland Mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:280
				south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Quercus falcata Andre Michaux	Spanish oak, southern red oak	tree	Blue Ridge	near headwaters of Chauga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144
			Ridge and Valley	south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Quercus marilandica Muenchhausen	black jack oak	tree	Blue Ridge	near Hiwassee River	Hawkins 1916:108

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Ulmus spp.	elm	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,656
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,656
				Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	North Fork of Holston River, near Kingsport, Tennessee	Walker 1888:43

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Ulmus spp. (cont)	elm	tree	Cumber-land Plateau	along Tennessee River, near Nickajack, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:41
Ulmus rubra Muhlenberg	slippery elm	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				Jefferson County, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98
				Washington County, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98
Morus rubra Linnaeus	red mulberry	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,567
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,567

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Morus rubra Linnaeus (cont)	red mulberry	tree	Blue Ridge	Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472
				Tellico Plain, Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479
Humulus lupulus Linnaeus	hops	herb	Blue Ridge	woods near Nucassee (Nequassee) (near Franklin), North Carolina	Williams 1930:240
Aristolochia macrophylla Lamarck	Dutchman's pipe	woody vine	Blue Ridge	along headwaters of Chauga River, near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958: 213-214,444

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Aristolochia macrophylla Lamarck (cont)	Dutchman's pipe	woody vine	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,444
Claytonia spp.	spring-beauty	herb	Blue Ridge	mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98
Claytonia virginica Linnaeus	spring-beauty	herb	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:97
Thalictrum thalictroides (Linnaeus) Boivin	windflower	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,438
Trautvetteria carolinensis (Walter) Vail	false bugbane	herb	Blue Ridge	along Jarrett Creek, near Aquone, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:230,530

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Hepatica americana (Augustin Pyramus de Candolle) Kerr	liverleaf	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,438
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:97
Berberis spp.	barberry	shrub	Ridge and Valley	along Powell River, northern Tennessee	Williams 1928:173
Jeffersonia diphylla (Linnaeus) Persoon	twinleaf	herb	Blue Ridge	Roan Mountain and Yellow Mountain, North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:56
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59,97

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Caulophyllum thalictroides (Linnaeus) Andre Michaux	blue cohosh, papooseroot	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,550
Podophyllum peltatum Linnaeus	may-apple, mandrake	herb	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Liriodendron tulipifera Linnaeus	tulip tree	tree	Piedmont	along Etowah River, Dawson County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
				along Etowah River, near Long Swamp, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
				along creek near Etowah River, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Liriodendron tulipifera Linnaeus (cont)	tulip tree	tree	Piedmont	along Etowah River, near Hickory Log, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:19
			Blue Ridge	lower and middle slopes, Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	near Tellico River, between Great Tellico and Tuskegee, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Liriodendron tulipifera Linnaeus (cont)	tulip tree	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Nolichucky River, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:270
				along valley streams south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
				meadow near Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Magnolia spp.	magnolia	tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Magnolia fraseri Walter	umbrella tree	tree	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:215, 216,559
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,558
				along Jarrett Creek, near Aquone, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:230,559
				Linville Mountains, North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:56
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Magnolia tripetala Linnaeus	umbrella tree	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Nolichucky River, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:58
Magnolia acuminata Linnaeus	cucumber tree	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,559
			Blue Ridge	near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,558
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,559
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Magnolia acuminata Linnaeus (cont)	cucumber tree	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Asimina triloba (Linnaeus) Dunal	pawpaw	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,440
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,439
Calycanthus floridus Linnaeus	sweet-shrub, spicebush	shrub	Piedmont	Keowee area, South Carolina	Harper 1958:209,461
				near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,461

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Calycanthus floridus Linnaeus (cont)	sweet-shrub, spicebush	shrub	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,461
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,461
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,461
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States 1846:14
Sassafras albidum (Nuttall) Nees	sassafras	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	along Hiwassee River, near Quanasee (near Murphy), Cherokee County, North Carolina	Hawkins 1916:108

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Sanguinaria canadensis Linnaeus	bloodroot	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,619
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59,97
Philadelphus sp.	mock-orange	shrub	Blue Ridge	Vale of Cowee, Georgia	Harper 1958:219,592
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,592

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Philadelphus inodorus Linnaeus	mock-orange	shrub	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,592
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,592
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,592
Saxifraga spp.	saxifrage	herb	Ridge and Valley	along Holston River, near Knoxville, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:96
Liquidambar styraciflua Linnaeus	sweet-gum	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Hamamelis virginiana Linnaeus	witch-hazel	tree	Blue Ridge	along headwaters of Chauga River, near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,523
Platanus occidentalis Linnaeus	sycamore	tree	Blue Ridge	French Broad River Valley, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:432
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Fragaria spp.	strawberry	herb	Piedmont	Keowee area, South Carolina	Harper 1958:209,636
				plains near Keowee River, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,636

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Fragaria spp. (cont)	strawberry	herb	Piedmont	Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,511
			Blue Ridge	near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:214,636
				near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:219,636
				Vale of Cowee, Georgia	Harper 1958:219,636
				Vale of Cowee, North Carolina	Harper 1958:220,636
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,636

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Fragaria spp. (cont)	strawberry	herb	Ridge and Valley	Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977: 82-83
				plains near Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:471
Geum sp.	avens	herb	Piedmont	Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,517
Sanguisorba canadensis Linnaeus	Canada burnet	herb	Piedmont	Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,619
			Blue Ridge	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:218,619

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Rosa sp.	rose	shrub	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,615
			Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,615
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:224,615
Prunus spp.	plum, cherry	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	Little Chota, Nacoochee Valley, White County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:17
			Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Prunus spp. (cont)	plum, cherry	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:70
				along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:471,472
				Tellico Plain, Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479
Prunus angustifolia Marshall	Chickasaw plum	shrub	Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:471
Cercis canadensis Linnaeus	redbud, Judas tree	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Gleditsia triacanthos Linnaeus	honey locust	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Wisteria frutescens (Linnaeus) Poiret	American wisteria	woody vine	Blue Ridge	near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,518
Robinia spp.	locust	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,613
			Ridge and Valley	Washington County, Tennessee	Williams 1928:450
Robinia pseudo-acacia Linnaeus	black locust	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,614
			Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, near Fort Loudoun, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:84

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Robinia viscosa Ventenat	clammy locust	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,614
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,613
Robinia spp. or Gleditsia triacanthos Linnaeus	locust or honey locust	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	Little Chota, Nacoochee Valley, White County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:17
				Tomassee, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:105,143

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Robinia spp. or *Gleditsia triacanthos* Linnaeus (cont)	locust or honey locust	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				along Hiwassee River	Hawkins 1916:108
Ptelea trifoliata	hop-tree, wafer ash	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,602
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,643
Rhus spp.	sumac	vine/ shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Ilex opaca Aiton	holly	tree	Blue Ridge	near Beaverdam Creek, southwest North Carolina	Hawkins 1916:110
			Ridge and Valley	along Big Creek, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Walker 1888:45
Euonymus sp.	strawberry bush	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Euonymus americanus Linnaeus	strawberry bush	shrub	Blue Ridge	along headwaters of Chauga River, near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,500
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,500

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Euonymus americanus Linnaeus (cont)	strawberry bush	shrub	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Staphylea trifolia Linnaeus	bladdernut	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	along headwaters of Chauga River, near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,634
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,634
Acer spp.	maple	tree	Blue Ridge	near Hiwassee River	Hawkins 1916:107
			Ridge and Valley	near South West Point (near Kingston), Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:161

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Acer spp.	maple	tree	Ridge and Valley	meadow near Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Acer spicatum Lamarck	mountain maple	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,429
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,429
Acer rubrum Linnaeus	red maple	tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,429
			Ridge and Valley	Jefferson County, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98
				Washington County, Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:98

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Acer saccharum Marshall	sugar maple	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,429
				along Euharlee Creek, Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,429
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288
				Great Smoky Mountains, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Acer saccharum Marshall (cont)	sugar maple	tree	Ridge and Valley	between Great Tellico and Tuskegee, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
Aesculus spp.	buckeye	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	along Nolichucky River, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:270
Aesculus sylvatica Bartram	painted buckeye	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	along Keowee River, South Carolina	Harper 1958:208,430
				near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,430
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,430

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Vitis spp.	grape	vine	Piedmont	along Keowee River, South Carolina	Harper 1958: 208-209,521
			Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
				French Broad River Valley, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:432
			Ridge and Valley	woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:70
				plains near mouth of Tellico River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:469
				south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Vitis labrusca Linnaeus	fox grape	vine	Blue Ridge	Appalachian Mountains in general	De Vorsey 1971:105
Tilia spp.	linden, basswood	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,646
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,643
			Ridge and Valley	valley near Vann's Place (near Spring Place), between Dalton and Chatsworth, Murray County, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:155

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Tilia spp. (cont)	linden, basswood	tree	Ridge and Valley	near South West Point (near Kingston), Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:161
Stewartia ovata (Cavanilles) Weatherby	mountain camellia	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212, 634-635
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,634
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,634
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,634

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Viola spp.	violet, pansy	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,659
Panax quinquefolium Linnaeus	ginseng	herb	Piedmont	Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,587
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,586
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Lanman 1849:432
			Ridge and Valley	woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1928:70
Ligusticum canadense (Linnaeus) Britton	lovage	herb	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,438

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Heracleum lanatum Andre Michaux	cow parsnip	herb	Blue Ridge	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:218,525
Nyssa aquatica Linnaeus	water gum, tupelo gum	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Cornus spp.	dogwood	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	along Oloktah Creek, northern Georgia	Hawkins 1916:107
				along Hiwassee River, near Quanasee (near Murphy), Cherokee County, North Carolina	Hawkins 1916:108
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Cornus spp. (cont)	dogwood	shrub/ tree	Ridge and Valley	near Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112
Cornus florida Linnaeus	flowering dogwood	tree	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,483
			Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,483
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
Rhododendron spp.	rhodo-dendron, azalea	shrub/ tree	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,446

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Rhododendron spp. (cont)	rhodo-dendron, azalea	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	along headwaters of Chauga River, near Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,446
				Vale of Cowee, Georgia	Harper 1948:219,446
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,446
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99
				Iron Mountain, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:283

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Rhododendron spp. (cont)	rhodo-dendron, azalea	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Iron Mountain, western North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:284
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
Rhododendron maximum Linnaeus	rosebay, great laurel	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Vale of Cowee, Georgia	Harper 1958:219,612
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:224,612
			Ridge and Valley	along Big Creek, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Walker 1888:45

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physiographic Province	Location	Source
Rhododendron minus Andre Michaux	rhododendron	shrub	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958: 211-212,612
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,612
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,612
				summit, Blue Ridge Mountains, near North Carolina/ Tennessee border	Thwaites 1904:57
				mountains, western North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:99

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Rhododendron calendulaceum (Andre Michaux) Torrey	flame azalea	shrub	Piedmont	along Keowee River, South Carolina	Harper 1958:208, 446-447
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213, 446-447
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,447
				Blue Ridge Mountains, near North Carolina/ Tennessee border	Thwaites 1904:57
				mountains, western North Carolina	Thwaites 1904:99

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Rhododendron arborescens (Pursh) Torrey	smooth azalea	shrub	Blue Ridge	along river banks, Blue Ridge Mountains, near North Carolina/ Tennessee border	Thwaites 1904:57
Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus	mountain laurel, mountain ivy	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,545
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,545
				Vale of Cowee, Georgia	Harper 1958:219,545
				near Chattooga River, Oconee County, South Carolina	Hawkins 1916:106,144

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Kalmia latifolia Linnaeus (cont)	mountain laurel, mountain ivy	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	Nantahala Mountains, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:385
				mountains, eastern Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:99
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288
				Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	along Big Creek, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Walker 1888:45

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Oxydendrum arboreum (Linnaeus) Augustin Pyramus de Candolle	sourwood	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:267
				south of Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Epigaea repens Linnaeus	trailing arbutus	shrub	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,499
Diospyros virginiana Linnaeus	persimmon	tree	Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:472
Symplocos tinctoria (Linnaeus) L'Heritier	sweet leaf, horse sugar	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,528

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Halesia carolina Linnaeus	Carolina silverbell	tree	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,523
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,523
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,523
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,523
Halesia diptera Ellis	two-wing silverbell	tree	Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,523

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Styrax spp.	storax	shrub	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,638
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,638
				Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,638
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,638
Fraxinus spp.	ash	tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,511
				Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:288

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Fraxinus spp. (cont)	ash	tree	Blue Ridge	Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
			Ridge and Valley	Knoxville, Tennessee area	Thwaites 1904:59
				woods, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1928:69
Fraxinus americana Linnaeus	American ash, white ash	tree	Piedmont	near Oconee Station, Oconee County. South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,511

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Gelsemium sempervirens (Linnaeus) William Townsend Aiton	yellow jessamine	vine	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,453
			Blue Ridge	on Oconee Mountain, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:213,543
				near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,543
				near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,453
Anisostichus capreolata (Linnaeus) Bureau	cross vine	woody vine	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,453

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Campsis radicans (Linnaeus) Seemann	trumpet vine, cow-itch vine	woody vine	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,453
Catalpa spp.	Indian cigar tree	tree	Ridge and Valley	along Little Tennessee River, near Fort Loudoun, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:84
Plantago virginica Linnaeus	plaintain	herb	Piedmont	Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:211,597
Mitchella repens Linnaeus	partridge berry	herb	Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun Creek, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,565
Lonicera spp.	honeysuckle	shrub/ woody vine	Ridge and Valley	near Great Tellico, Tennessee	Hawkins 1916:112

Table A-1--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habit	Physio-graphic Province	Location	Source
Lonicera sempervirens Linnaeus	coral honeysuckle	vine	Piedmont	near Tomassee Knob, Oconee County, South Carolina	Harper 1958:212,555
			Blue Ridge	Falling Creek, Rabun Creek, Georgia	Harper 1958:216,555
Viburnum spp.	arrow wood	shrub/ tree	Blue Ridge	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:229,658
Campanula rapunculoides Linnaeus	bluebell	herb	Ridge and Valley	corn fields along Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:473
				corn field at Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479

Table A-2
Native (Indigenous) Fauna Present in the Cherokee Area
During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries
as Recorded in Early Ethnographic and Primary Historical Accounts

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Invertebrates				
family Tettigoniidae	katydid	trees in garden	Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:396
family Lucanidae	stag beetle "flying stag"	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:72
family Siricidae	horntail "stump-stinger"	trees	Southeast area in general	Lanman 1849:398
Sceliphron/ Chalybion spp.	mud dauber "dirt dauber"	inner side of shed or piazza	Southeast area in general	Lanman 1849:398
order Araneae	spider	--	Southeast area in general	Lanman 1849:398

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Fish				
Acipenser fulvescens Rafinesque	lake sturgeon	river	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223
Alosa/ *Dorosoma* spp.	shad	river	Tallulah River, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:373
Salvelinus fontinalis (Mitchill)	brook trout "large minnow"	mountain streams	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
family Catostomidae	sucker	river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384
Carpiodes spp.	carpsucker "carp"	river	Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
Hypentelium nigricans (Le Sueur)	northern hog sucker "hog-fish"	river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Fish (cont)				
Moxostoma spp.	redhorse "mullet"	river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384
		river	Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
family Ictaluridae	bullhead catfish	river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384
		river	Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
Pylodictis olivaris (Rafinesque)	flathead catfish "yellow cat"	river	Little Tennessee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:494
Lepomis spp.	sunfish "perch"	river	Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Fish (cont)				
Micropterus spp.	bass "trout"	river	Tallulah River, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:373
		river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384
		stream	Sweet Water Stream, near Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:393
		mountain stream	Alum Cave, Great Smoky Mountains, Tennessee	Lanman 1849:405
		river	Swannanoah River, Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:441

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Fish (cont)				
Micropterus spp. (cont)	bass "trout"	mountain streams	Great Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
Stizostedion vitreum (Mitchill)	walleye "pickerel"	river	Valley River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:384
Amphibians				
Cryptobranchus alleganiensis alleganiensis (Daudin)	hellbender	mountain torrents	Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904:289
order Anura	toad/frog	--	northeast of Knoxville, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:63
		brook	near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Williams 1928:493

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Reptiles				
Eumeces sp.	skink "scarlet lizard"	small tree in valley	Hiwassee River Valley, near Georgia/North Carolina border	Lanman 1849:382
Coluber constrictor constrictor Linnaeus	northern black racer	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:353
		small tree in valley	Hiwassee River Valley, near Georgia/North Carolina border	Lanman 1849:382
Agkistrodon contortrix mokeson (Daudin)	northern copperhead "coppersnake"	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:72

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Reptiles (cont)				
Crotalus horridus horridus Linnaeus	timber rattlesnake	--	Cherokee country in general	De Vorsey 1971:107
		--	near Dahlonega, Lumpkin County, Georgia	Lanman 1849:346
		--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:353
		--	near Hiwassee River, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:379
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:72

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds				
Cygnus columbianus (Ord)	tundra swan	--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		river	French Broad River, eastern Tennessee	Williams 1928:263
Branta canadensis (Linnaeus)	Canada goose	river	French Broad River, eastern Tennessee	Fries 1970:1986
		--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
subfamily Anatinae	duck	--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
family Cathartidae	vulture	ravine	Tallulah Falls, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:367
Cathartes aura (Linnaeus)	turkey vulture "buzzard"	ravine	Tallulah Falls, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:365
subfamily Accipitrinae	eagle	ravine	Tallulah Falls, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:366

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Bonasa umbellus (Linnaeus)	ruffed grouse "pheasant" "moor fowl"	--	Keowee area, South Carolina	Harper 1958:209,566
		--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus	wild turkey	--	near Holston River, between French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers, eastern Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212
		plain	Vale of Cowee, North Carolina	Harper 1958:220,563

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus (cont)	wild turkey	meadows	near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225,654
		--	near Euharlee Creek, near Aragon, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:23
		long-leaf pine	near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24
		oak and short-leaf pine	near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus (cont)	wild turkey	--	Creek Path, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:118
		--	near Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:143
		--	near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:147
		--	near Tennessee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:148
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus (cont)	wild turkey	--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Mereness 1916:113
		--	near South West Point (near Kingston), Tennessee	Thwaites 1904:261
		--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:44

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus (cont)	wild turkey	--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
		plain	Tellico Plain, Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:478
Colinus virginianus (Linnaeus)	northern bobwhite "quail" "partridge"	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Zenaida macroura (Linnaeus)	mourning dove "dove"	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		garden	Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:396
		--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
family Caprimulgidae	goatsucker "night hawk" "whip-poor-will"	--	Keowee area, South Carolina	Harper 1958:209,662

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
family Caprimulgidae (cont)	goatsucker "night hawk" "whip-poor-will"	abandoned building in valley	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:217,662
		valley	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:218,574
subfamily Picinae	woodpecker	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
Dryocopus pileatus (Linnaeus) (?)	pileated woodpecker "hoopoe"	--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
Tyrannus tyrannus (Linnaeus)	eastern kingbird	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Progne subis (Linnaeus)	purple martin	garden	Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:396
Cyanocitta cristata (Linnaeus)	blue jay	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
Corvus brachyrhynchos Brehm	American crow	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
Sialia sialis (Linnaeus)	eastern bluebird	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
Turdus migratorius Linnaeus	American robin	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
Mimus polyglottos (Linnaeus)	northern mockingbird	valley	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:218,566

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Birds (cont)				
Mimus polyglottos (Linnaeus) (cont)	northern mockingbird	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		valley	valley between Roan Mountain and Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:454
Cardinalis cardinalis (Linnaeus)	northern cardinal "redbird"	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
Sturnella magna (Linnaeus)	eastern meadowlark	--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals				
Didelphis virginiana Kerr	Virginia opossum	woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
family Vespertilionidae	plainnose bat	abandoned building in valley	near Clayton, Rabun County, Georgia	Harper 1958:217,449
		ravine	Tallulah Falls, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:367
Sylvilagus floridanus (Allen)	eastern cottontail	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
family Sciuridae	squirrel	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
Sciurus carolinensis Gmelin	gray squirrel	oak-hickory woods	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Castor canadensis (Kuhl)	beaver	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223
		--	Cherokee country in general	Fries 1970:1983
		--	Long Island on Holston River, Tennessee	Hagy and Folmsbee 1971:120
		--	Cherokee country in general	Richardson 1759

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Castor canadensis (Kuhl) (cont)	beaver	--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		brooks	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:69
Canis familiaris Linnaeus	domestic dog	human dwelling	Kahite, Tennessee	Fries 1970:1982
		--	near Wayah Gap, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:228, 494-495
		human dwelling	near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Canis familiaris Linnaeus (cont)	domestic dog	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Mereness 1916:113
		--	Overhill Cherokee towns, Tennessee	Virginia State Archives 1909:61
		--	area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490
Canis lupus Linnaeus	gray wolf	--	near Holston River, between French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers, eastern Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212
		--	Burke County, North Carolina	Fries 1968: 51-52

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Canis lupus Linnaeus (cont)	gray wolf	--	Nickajack, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:39
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370
		--	Qualla area, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:23
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
Vulpes vulpes Linnaeus/ *Urocyon cinereoargenteus* (Schreber)	red fox/ gray fox	mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Ursus americanus (Pallas)	black bear	--	near Holston River, between French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers, eastern Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212
		--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:223
		--	near Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:143
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370,371

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Ursus americanus (Pallas) (cont)	black bear	mountains	Alum Cave, Great Smoky Mountains, Tennessee	Lanman 1849: 404-405
		mountains	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
		mountains	Grandfather Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:453
		--	Cherokee country in general	Richardson 1759
		--	Cherokee country in general	Tassel 1976:129
		mountains	Appalachian Mountains in general	Thwaites 1904: 289-290

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Ursus americanus (Pallas) (cont)	black bear	--	Qualla area, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:23
		--	between Big Creek and Clinch River, northern Tennessee	Walker 1888:45
		--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927: 45-46
		--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Procyon lotor (Linnaeus)	eastern raccoon	mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
Lutra canadensis (Schreber)	river otter	brooks	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:69
Felis concolor Linnaeus	mountain lion "panther"	--	Burke County, North Carolina	Fries 1968:52
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Felis concolor Linnaeus (cont)	mountain lion "panther"	--	near Sugar Water Falls, near Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:394
		mountains	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
		--	Qualla area, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:23
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
Lynx rufus (Schreber)	bobcat "wildcat"	mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Cervus canadensis Erxleben	elk	--	near Holston River, between French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers, eastern Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212
		mountains	Appalachian Mountains in general	Harper 1958:30,498
		--	Cherokee country in general	Richardson 1759
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert)	white-tailed deer	--	near Holston River, between French Broad and Little Tennessee Rivers, eastern Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:212
		--	Middle Cherokee country	American State Papers 1832:41

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	--	northern Georgia, near Georgia/ Tennessee border	Foreman 1956:149
		woods	Caldwell County, North Carolina	Fries 1968:49
		plain	Vale of Cowee, North Carolina	Harper 1958:220,614
		meadows	near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958:225, 492-493
		long-leaf pine	near Euharlee Creek, south of Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:24

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	wooded valley	between Chickamauga, Georgia, and Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81
		--	between Hiwassee River, Tennessee, and Chickamauga, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:112
		--	between Willstown and Creek Path, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:117
		mountains	near Chickamauga Creek Valley	Klinck and Talman 1970:119
		mountains	near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:147

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:352
		--	near Track Rock, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849: 352-353
		mountains	Blue Ridge Mountains, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:370
		ravine	near Hiwassee River, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:379
		--	near Hiwassee River, northern Georgia	Lanman 1849:379

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	ravine	near Sugar Water Falls, near Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:393
		streamside	along Sweet Water Stream, near Franklin, Macon County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849: 393-394
		riverside	along French Broad River, North Carolina	Lanman 1849: 434-435
		mountains	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:438
		mountains	Black Mountain, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:441

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	--	near Stony Point, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Louis-Philippe 1977:59
		--	Cherokee country in general	Richardson 1759
		--	Cherokee country in general	Tassel 1976:129
		--	Qualla area, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:23
		creek side; salt lick	along Big Creek, Hawkins County, Tennessee	Walker 1888:45

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert) (cont)	white-tailed deer	--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71
		riverside	Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:239,271
Bison bison (Linnaeus)	bison "buffalo"	--	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Alvord and Bidgood 1912:213
		--	Burke County, North Carolina	Fries 1968:51
		--	Cherokee country in general	Tassel 1976:129

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Bison bison (Linnaeus) (cont)	bison "buffalo"	creek side	along Reedy Creek, Holston River, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:43
		valley	Stanley Valley, near Rocky Ridge, northeast Tennessee	Walker 1888:44
		--	near Holston River, between Kingsport and Three Springs Ford, northeast Tennessee	Williams 1927:47
		woods	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:71

Table A-2--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Habitat If Mentioned	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)				
Bison bison (Linnaeus) (cont)	bison "buffalo"	--	near French Broad River, eastern Tennessee	Williams 1927: 120-121
		--	Wallen's Ridge, northern Tennessee	Williams 1928:173
		--	Southeast area in general	Williams 1930: 445-446

Table A-3
Introduced Fauna Present in the Cherokee Area
During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries
as Recorded in Early Ethnographic
and Primary Historical Accounts

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Birds			
Gallus gallus (Linnaeus)	domestic chicken	Cherokee country in general	Fyffe 1761:5
		Cherokee settlement along Etowah River, near Long Swamp, Cherokee County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:18
		Etowah, Bartow County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:21
		between Aragon and Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:23
		Overhill Cherokee towns, Tennessee	Virginia State Archives 1909:61
		Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479
		Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:485
		area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Birds (cont)			
Gallus gallus (Linnaeus) (cont)	domestic chicken	Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930:241
		Southeast Indian area in general	Williams 1930:443
Mammals			
Felis catus Linnaeus	domestic cat	area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490
Equus caballus Linnaeus	domestic horse	Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1832:124, 543,638
		Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1834: 283,651
		Cherokee country in general	Bartram 1853:32,47
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1828
		Cherokee country in general	De Vorsey 1971:108
		near Winston-Salem, North Carolina	Fries 1968:165

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Equus caballus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic horse	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Fries 1970:1985
		near Cowee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958: 225,528-529
		near Aquone, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958: 230,528-529
		Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:16
		between Etowah and Aragon, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:56
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Henderson 1931: 103,107
		Vann's Place (near Spring Place), between Dalton and Chatsworth, Murray County, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:68
		area along Coosa River	Klinck and Talman 1970:70
		Chickamauga Creek Valley	Klinck and Talman 1970:71

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Equus caballus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic horse	near Chickamauga, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:79
		near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81
		area along Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:146
		Cherokee country in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:162
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:416
		Cherokee country in general	Louis-Philippe 1977:75,91
		Southeast Indian area in general	McDowell 1955:14-15,73
		Cherokee country in general	McDowell 1958
		Fort Loudoun, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Equus caballus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic horse	Cherokee country in general	McDowell 1970
		Keowee, Oconee County, South Carolina	Mereness 1916: 154,158
		Middle Cherokee country	Public Record Office 1761:599
		Cherokee country in general	Richardson 1759
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
		Overhill Cherokee towns, Tennessee	Virginia State Archives 1909:61
		Lower Cherokee country	Williams 1927:67
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:72
		Cherokee country in general	Williams 1928:460
		near Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:477

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Equus caballus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic horse	Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479
		Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:485
		area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490
		Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930: 241,242
		Southeast Indian area in general	Williams 1930:436
Sus scrofa Linnaeus	domestic pig/hog	Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1834:651
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1828
		Cherokee country in general	Fyffe 1761:5
		Etowah, Bartow County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:21
		between Etowah and Aragon, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:22,56

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Sus scrofa Linnaeus (cont)	domestic pig/hog	between Aragon and Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:23
		Vann's Place (near Spring Place), between Dalton and Chatsworth, Murray County, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:68
		area along Coosa River	Klinck and Talman 1970:70
		Chickamauga Creek Valley	Klinck and Talman 1970:71
		Cherokee country in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:75, 125,162
		near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81
		Southeast Indian area in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:132
		area along Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:146

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Sus scrofa Linnaeus (cont)	domestic pig/hog	Cherokee country in general	Louis-Philippe 1977:79
		Southeast Indian area in general	McDowell 1955:14-15
		Fort Loudoun, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
		Overhill Cherokee towns, Tennessee	Virginia State Archives 1909:61
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Williams 1927:72
		Tellico Blockhouse, Tennessee	Williams 1928:464
		Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Sus scrofa Linnaeus (cont)	domestic pig/hog	Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:485
		area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490
		Southeast Indian area in general	Williams 1930:140, 436,444
		Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930: 241,242
Bos taurus Linnaeus	domestic cattle	Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1832:205
		Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1834:651
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1828
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1831
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Fries 1970:1985

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Bos taurus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic cattle	Cherokee country in general	Fyffe 1761:5
		Vale of Cowee, near Echoee, Macon County, North Carolina	Harper 1958: 221,467
		Falling Creek, Rabun County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:16
		Etowah, Bartow County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:21
		between Etowah and Aragon, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:22, 24,56
		between Aragon and Rockmart, Polk County, Georgia	Hawkins 1916:23
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Henderson 1931:103, 105,107
		Cherokee country in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:36, 60,75,123, 124,125, 162
		area along Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:57

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Bos taurus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic cattle	Vann's Place (near Spring Place), between Dalton and Chatsworth, Murray County, Georgia	Klinck and Talman 1970:68
		area along Coosa River	Klinck and Talman 1970:70
		Chickamauga Creek Valley	Klinck and Talman 1970:71
		Willstown, De Kalb County, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
		Wills Creek Valley, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:72
		near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:81
		between Willstown and Creek Path, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:117
		near Creek Path, Alabama	Klinck and Talman 1970:117
		near Hiwassee River, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:121

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Bos taurus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic cattle	Southeast Indian area in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:132
		area along Hiwassee River	Klinck and Talman 1970:146
		near Chattanooga, Tennessee	Klinck and Talman 1970:152
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:416
		Cherokee country in general	Louis-Philippe 1977:75
		Fort Loudoun, Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	McDowell 1970
		Cherokee country in general	McDowell 1970
		Keowee, Oconee County, South Carolina	McDowell 1970:173-174
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Mereness 1916:252

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Bos taurus Linnaeus (cont)	domestic cattle	Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Meriwether 1904:443
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14
		Overhill Cherokee towns, Tennessee	Virginia State Archives 1909:61
		Great Tellico, Tennessee	Williams 1928:479
		Hiwassee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:485
		area along Hiwassee River, near Wachowee, Tennessee	Williams 1928:490
		Southeast Indian area in general	Williams 1930:138-139
		Cherokee country in general	Williams 1930: 241,242

Table A-3--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Location	Source
Mammals (cont)			
Capra hircus Linnaeus	domestic goat	Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1834:651
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1828
Ovis aries Linnaeus	domestic sheep	Cherokee country in general	American State Papers 1834:651
		Cherokee country in general	Cherokee Phoenix 1828
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Henderson 1931:105
		Cherokee country in general	Klinck and Talman 1970:162
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	Lanman 1849:416
		Overhill Cherokee country, Tennessee	Meriwether 1904:443
		Qualla Town, Haywood County, North Carolina	United States Senate 1846:14

Table A-4
Vertebrate Fauna, Native (Indigenous) and Introduced,
Potentially Present in the
Overhill Cherokee Country of Eastern Tennessee
During the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Agnatha	jawless fish
Ichthyomyzon bdellium (Jordan)	Ohio lamprey
Ichthyomyzon castaneus Girard	chestnut lamprey
Ichthyomyzon greeleyi Hubbs and Trautman	Allegheny brook lamprey
Lampetra appendix (DeKay)	American brook lamprey
Class Osteichthyes	bony fish
Acipenser fulvescens Rafinesque	lake sturgeon
Polyodon spathula (Walbaum)	paddlefish
Lepisosteus oculatus Winchell	spotted gar
Lepisosteus osseus (Linnaeus)	longnose gar
Anguilla rostrata (Le Sueur)	American eel
Alosa alabamae Jordan and Evermann	Alabama shad
Alosa chrysochloris (Rafinesque)	skipjack herring
Dorosoma cepedianum (Le Sueur)	gizzard shad
Hiodon tergisus Le Sueur	mooneye

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Salvelinus fontinalis (Mitchill)	brook trout
Esox masquinongy Mitchill	muskellunge
Campostoma anomalum (Rafinesque)	stoneroller
Clinostomus funduloides Girard	rosyside dace
Hemitremia flammea (Jordan and Gilbert)	flame chub
Hybognathus nuchalis Agassiz	central silvery minnow
Hybopsis aestivalis (Girard)	speckled chub
Hybopsis amblops (Rafinesque)	bigeye chub
Hybopsis insignis Hubbs and Crowe	blotched chub
Hybopsis monacha (Cope)	spotfin chub
Hybopsis storeriana (Kirtland)	silver chub
Nocomis micropogon (Cope)	river chub
Notemigonus crysoleucas (Mitchill)	golden shiner
Notropis ariommus (Cope)	popeye shiner
Notropis atherinoides Rafinesque	emerald shiner

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Notropis chrysocephalus chrysocephalus (Rafinesque)	striped shiner
Notropis coccogenis (Cope)	warpaint shiner
Notropis galacturus (Cope)	whitetail shiner
Notropis leuciodus (Cope)	Tennessee shiner
Notropis lirus (Jordan)	mountain shiner
Notropis photogenis (Cope)	silver shiner
Notropis rubellus (Agassiz)	rosyface shiner
Notropis rubricroceus (Cope)	saffron shiner
Notropis spectrunculus (Cope)	mirror shiner
Notropis spilopterus (Cope)	spotfin shiner
Notropis stramineus (Cope)	sand shiner
Notropis telescopus (Cope)	telescope shiner
Notropis volucellus (Cope)	mimic shiner
Notropis whipplei (Girard)	steelcolor shiner

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Phenacobius crassilabrum Minckley and Craddock	fatlips minnow
Phenacobius uranops Cope	stargazing minnow
Phoxinus oreas (Cope)	mountain redbelly dace
Pimephales notatus (Rafinesque)	bluntnose minnow
Pimephales vigilax (Baird and Girard)	bullhead minnow
Rhinichthys atratulus (Hermann)	blacknose dace
Rhinichthys cataractae (Valenciennes)	longnose dace
Semotilus atromaculatus (Mitchill)	creek chub
Carpiodes carpio (Rafinesque)	river carpsucker
Carpiodes cyprinus (Le Sueur)	quillback
Catostomus commersoni (Lacepede)	white sucker
Cycleptus elongatus (Le Sueur)	blue sucker
Hypentelium nigricans (Le Sueur)	northern hog sucker
Ictiobus bubalus (Rafinesque)	smallmouth buffalo
Ictiobus niger (Rafinesque)	black buffalo

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Minytrema melanops (Rafinesque)	spotted sucker
Moxostoma anisurum (Rafinesque)	silver redhorse
Moxostoma carinatum (Cope)	river redhorse
Moxostoma duquesnei (Le Sueur)	black redhorse
Moxostoma erythrurum (Rafinesque)	golden redhorse
Moxostoma macrolepidotum breviceps (Cope)	shorthead redhorse
Ictalurus furcatus (Le Sueur)	blue catfish
Ictalurus melas (Rafinesque)	black bullhead
Ictalurus natalis (Le Sueur)	yellow bullhead
Ictalurus nebulosus (Le Sueur)	brown bullhead
Ictalurus punctatus (Rafinesque)	channel catfish
Noturus baileyi Taylor	smoky madtom
Noturus eleutherus Jordan	mountain madtom
Notorus flavipinnis Taylor	yellowfin madtom

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Noturus flavus Rafinesque	stonecat
Pylodictis olivaris (Rafinesque)	flathead catfish
Fundulus catenatus (Storer)	northern studfish
Fundulus notatus (Rafinesque)	blackstripe topminnow
Fundulus olivaceus (Storer)	blackspotted topminnow
Labidesthes sicculus (Cope)	brook silverside
Ambloplites rupestris (Rafinesque)	rock bass
Lepomis cyanellus Rafinesque	green sunfish
Lepomis gulosus (Cuvier)	warmouth
Lepomis macrochirus Rafinesque	bluegill
Lepomis megalotis (Rafinesque)	longear sunfish
Lepomis microlophus (Gunther)	redear sunfish
Micropterus dolomieui Lacepede	smallmouth bass
Micropterus punctulatus (Rafinesque)	spotted bass
Micropterus salmoides (Lacepede)	largemouth bass

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Pomoxis annularis Rafinesque	white crappie
Pomoxis nigromaculatus (Le Sueur)	black crappie
Etheostoma blennioides Rafinesque	greenside darter
Etheostoma camurum (Cope)	bluebreast darter
Etheostoma chlorobranchium Zorach	greenfin darter
Etheostoma cinereum Storer	ashy darter
Etheostoma flabellare Rafinesque	fantail darter
Etheostoma jessiae (Jordan and Brayton)	blueside darter
Etheostoma kennicotti (Putnam)	stripetail darter
Etheostoma maculatum Kirtland	spotted darter
Etheostoma rufilineatum (Cope)	redline darter
Etheostoma simoterum (Cope)	Tennessee snubnose darter
Etheostoma swannanoa Jordan and Evermann	Swannanoa darter
Etheostoma zonale (Cope)	banded darter

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Osteichthyes (cont)	bony fish
Percina aurantiaca (Cope)	tangerine darter
Percina burtoni Fowler	blotchside logperch
Percina caprodes (Rafinesque)	logperch
Percina evides (Jordan and Copeland)	gilt darter
Percina macrocephala (Cope)	longhead darter
Percina sciera (Swain)	dusky darter
Percina shumardi (Girard)	river darter
Percina squamata (Gilbert and Swain)	olive darter
Percina tanasi Etnier	snail darter
Stizostedion canadense (Smith)	sauger
Stizostedion vitreum (Mitchill)	walleye
Aplodinotus grunniens Rafinesque	freshwater drum
Cottus bairdi Girard	mottled sculpin
Cottus carolinae (Gill)	banded sculpin

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Amphibia-- Order Caudata	amphibian salamander
Cryptobranchus alleganiensis alleganiensis (Daudin)	hellbender
Necturus maculosus maculosus (Rafinesque)	mudpuppy, waterdog
Ambystoma maculatum (Shaw)	spotted salamander
Ambystoma opacum (Gravenhorst)	marbled salamander
Ambystoma talpoideum (Holbrook)	mole salamander
Ambystoma tigrinum tigrinum (Green)	eastern tiger salamander
Notophthalmus viridescens viridescens (Rafinesque)	red-spotted newt
Desmognathus fuscus (Green)	dusky salamander
Desmognathus ochrophaeus carolinensis Dunn	Blue Ridge mountain salamander
Desmognathus monticola monticola Dunn	Appalachian seal salamander
Desmognathus quadramaculatus (Holbrook)	black-bellied salamander
Desmognathus wrighti King	pygmy salamander

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Amphibia-- Order Caudata (cont)	amphibian salamander
Leurognathus marmoratus Moore	shovel-nosed salamander
Plethodon cinereus cinereus (Green)	red-backed salamander
Plethodon dorsalis dorsalis Cope	zigzag salamander
Plethodon glutinosus glutinosus (Green)	slimy salamander
Plethodon jordani Blatchley	Appalachian woodland salamander
Plethodon richmondi Netting and Mittleman	ravine salamander
Plethodon welleri Walker	Weller's salamander
Plethodon yonahlossee Dunn	Yonahlossee salamander
Hemidactylium scutatum (Schlegel)	eastern four-toed salamander
Gyrinophilus porphyriticus porphyriticus (Green)	northern spring salamander
Gyrinophilus porphyriticus danielsi (Blatchley)	mountain spring salamander
Pseudotriton montanus diastictus Bishop	midland mud salamander
Pseudotriton ruber (Sonnini)	red salamander

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Amphibia-- Order Caudata (cont)	amphibian salamander
Aneides aeneus (Cope and Packard)	green salamander
Eurycea bislineata bislineata (Green)	northern two-lined salamander
Eurycea bislineata wilderae Dunn	Blue Ridge two-lined salamander
Eurycea longicauda longicauda (Green)	long-tailed salamander
Eurycea longicauda guttolineata (Holbrook)	three-lined salamander
Eurycea lucifuga Rafinesque	cave salamander
Class Amphibia-- Order Anura or Salientia	amphibian toad/frog
Scaphiopus holbrooki holbrooki (Harlan)	eastern spadefoot
Bufo americanus americanus Holbrook	American toad
Bufo woodhousei fowleri Hinckley	Fowler's toad
Acris crepitans crepitans Baird	northern cricket frog

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Amphibia-- Order Anura or Salientia (cont)	amphibian toad/frog
Hyla crucifer crucifer Wied	northern spring peeper
Hyla versicolor versicolor Le Conte	gray treefrog
Pseudacris brachyphona (Cope)	mountain chorus frog
Pseudacris triseriata feriarum (Baird)	upland chorus frog
Gastrophryne carolinensis (Holbrook)	eastern narrow-mouthed toad
Rana catesbeiana Shaw	bullfrog
Rana clamitans melanota (Rafinesque)	green frog
Rana sylvatica Le Conte	wood frog
Rana sphenocephala Cope	southern leopard frog
Rana palustris Le Conte	pickerel frog

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Reptilia-- Order Testudines or Chelonia	reptile turtle
Chelydra serpentina serpentina (Linnaeus)	common snapping turtle
Sternotherus odoratus (Latreille)	stinkpot
Sternotherus minor peltifer Smith and Glass	stripe-necked musk turtle
Kinosternon subrubrum subrubrum (Lacepede)	eastern mud turtle
Clemmys muhlenbergi (Schoepff)	bog turtle
Terrapene carolina carolina (Linnaeus)	eastern box turtle
Graptemys geographica (Le Sueur)	map turtle
Graptemys pseudogeographica (Gray)	false map turtle
Chrysemys picta marginata Agassiz	midland painted turtle
Chrysemys scripta troosti (Holbrook)	Cumberland turtle
Trionyx spiniferus spiniferus Le Sueur	eastern spiny softshell

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Reptilia--	reptile
Order Squamata,	lizard/snake
Suborder Lacertilia	lizard
Anolis carolinensis carolinensis Voigt	green anole
Sceloporus undulatus hyacinthinus (Green)	northern fence lizard
Ophisaurus attenuatus longicaudus McConkey	eastern slender glass lizard
Cnemidophorus sexlineatus sexlineatus (Linnaeus)	six-lined racerunner
Scincella lateralis (Say)	ground skink
Eumeces fasciatus (Linnaeus)	five-lined skink
Eumeces laticeps (Schneider)	broad-headed skink
Eumeces inexpectatus Taylor	southeastern five-lined skink
Class Reptilia--	reptile
Order Squamata,	lizard/snake
Suborder Serpentes	snake
Nerodia sipedon sipedon (Linnaeus)	northern water snake
Nerodia sipedon pleuralis (Cope)	midland water snake
Regina septemvittata (Say)	queen snake

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Reptilia--	reptile
Order Squamata,	lizard/snake
Suborder Serpentes (cont)	snake
Storeria dekayi dekayi (Holbrook)	northern brown snake
Storeria dekayi wrightorum Trapido	midland brown snake
Storeria occipitomaculata occipitomaculata (Storer)	northern red-bellied snake
Thamnophis sauritis sauritus (Linnaeus)	eastern ribbon snake
Thamnophis sirtalis sirtalis (Linnaeus)	eastern garter snake
Virginia valeriae valeriae Baird and Girard	eastern earth snake
Heterodon platyrhinos Latreille	eastern hognose snake
Diadophis punctatus edwardsi (Merrem)	northern ringneck snake
Carphophis amoenus amoenus (Say)	eastern worm snake
Coluber constrictor constrictor Linnaeus	northern black racer
Opheodrys aestivus (Linnaeus)	rough green snake
Elaphe guttata guttata (Linnaeus)	corn snake

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Reptilia--	reptile
Order Squamata,	lizard/snake
Suborder Serpentes (cont)	snake
Elaphe obsoleta obsoleta (Say)	black rat snake
Elaphe obsoleta spiloides Dumeril, Bibron, and Dumeril	gray rat snake
Pituophis melanoleucus melanoleucus (Daudin)	northern pine snake
Lampropeltis calligaster rhombomaculata (Holbrook)	mole snake
Lampropeltis getulus niger (Yarrow)	black kingsnake
Lampropeltis triangulum elapsoides (Holbrook)	scarlet kingsnake
Lampropeltis triangulum triangulum (Lacepede)	eastern milk snake
Cemophora coccinea (Blumenbach)	scarlet snake
Tantilla coronata Baird and Girard	southeastern crowned snake
Agkistrodon contortrix mokeson (Daudin)	northern copperhead
Crotalus horridus horridus Linnaeus	timber rattlesnake

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality[a]
Class Aves	bird	
Gavia immer (Brunnich)	common loon	M
Podilymbus podiceps (Linnaeus)	pied-billed grebe	R
Podiceps auritus (Linnaeus)	horned grebe	M,O
Pelecanus erythrorhynchos Gmelin	American white pelican	M,O
Phalacrocorax auritus (Lesson)	double-crested cormorant	M,O
Botaurus lentiginosus (Rackett)	American bittern	M
Ixobrychus exilis (Gmelin)	least bittern	S,O
Ardea herodias Linnaeus	great blue heron	R
Casmerodius albus (Linnaeus)	great egret	S,O
Egretta caerulea (Linnaeus)	little blue heron	S,O
Butorides striatus (Linnaeus)	green-backed heron	S
Nycticorax nycticorax (Linnaeus)	black-crowned night-heron	S,O
Nycticorax violaceus (Linnaeus)	yellow-crowned night-heron	S,O
Cygnus columbianus (Ord)	tundra swan	M,O

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Chen caerulescens (Linnaeus)	snow goose	M,O
Branta canadensis (Linnaeus)	Canada goose	M
Aix sponsa (Linnaeus)	wood duck	S/R
Anas crecca Linnaeus	green-winged teal	M
Anas rubripes Brewster	American black duck	W
Anas platyrhynchos Linnaeus	mallard	W
Anas acuta Linnaeus	northern pintail	M
Anas discors Linnaeus	blue-winged teal	M
Anas clypeata Linnaeus	northern shoveler	M
Anas strepera Linnaeus	gadwall	M
Anas americana Gmelin	American wigeon	M
Aythya valisineria (Wilson)	canvasback	M
Aythya americana (Eyton)	redhead	M
Aythya collaris (Donovan)	ring-necked duck	W
Aythya marila (Linnaeus)	greater scaup	M
Aythya affinis (Eyton)	lesser scaup	M

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	hird	
Clangula hyemalis (Linnaeus)	oldsquaw	W,O
Melanitta fusca (Linnaeus)	white-winged scoter	M,O
Bucephala clangula (Linnaeus)	common goldeneye	W,O
Bucephala albeola (Linnaeus)	bufflehead	M
Lophodytes cucullatus (Linnaeus)	hooded merganser	S,O
Mergus merganser Linnaeus	common merganser	W
Mergus serrator Linnaeus	red-breasted merganser	M
Oxyura jamaicensis (Gmelin)	ruddy duck	M
Coragyps atratus (Bechstein)	black vulture	R
Cathartes aura (Linnaeus)	turkey vulture	R
Pandion haliaetus (Linnaeus)	osprey	M
Haliaeetus leucocephalus (Linnaeus)	bald eagle	W
Circus cyaneus (Linnaeus)	northern harrier	W
Accipiter striatus Vieillot	sharp-shinned hawk	R
Accipiter cooperii (Bonaparte)	Cooper's hawk	R

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Buteo lineatus (Gmelin)	red-shouldered hawk	R
Buteo platypterus (Vieillot)	broad-winged hawk	S
Buteo jamaicensis (Gmelin)	red-tailed hawk	R
Buteo lagopus (Pontoppidan)	rough-legged hawk	W,O
Aquila chrysaetos (Linnaeus)	golden eagle	W,O
Falco sparverius Linnaeus	American kestrel, sparrow hawk	R
Falco columbarius Linnaeus	merlin	M,O
Falco peregrinus[b] Tunstall	peregrine falcon	
Gallus gallus[c] (Linnaeus)	domestic chicken	R
Bonasa umbellus (Linnaeus)	ruffed grouse	R
Meleagris gallopavo Linnaeus	wild turkey	R
Colinus virginianus (Linnaeus)	northern bobwhite	R
Coturnicops noveboracensis (Gmelin)	yellow rail	M,O
Laterallus jamaicensis (Gmelin)	black rail	M,O

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Rallus elegans Audubon	king rail	S,O
Rallus limicola Vieillot	Virginia rail	M
Porzana carolina (Linnaeus)	sora	M
Porphyrula martinica (Linnaeus)	purple gallinule	S,O
Gallinula chloropus (Linnaeus)	common moorhen	S
Fulica americana Gmelin	American coot	W
Grus canadensis (Linnaeus)	sandhill crane	M,O
Pluvialis squatarola (Linnaeus)	black-bellied plover	M
Pluvialis dominica (Muller)	lesser golden-plover	M,O
Charadrius semipalmatus Bonaparte	semipalmated plover	M
Charadrius vociferus Linnaeus	killdeer	R
Tringa melanoleuca (Gmelin)	greater yellowlegs	M
Tringa flavipes (Gmelin)	lesser yellowlegs	M
Tringa solitaria Wilson	solitary sandpiper	M

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Actitis macularia (Linnaeus)	spotted sandpiper	S
Bartramia longicauda (Bechstein)	upland sandpiper	M
Calidris pusilla (Linnaeus)	semipalmated sandpiper	M
Calidris minutilla (Vieillot)	least sandpiper	M
Calidris melanotos (Vieillot)	pectoral sandpiper	M
Calidris himantopus (Bonaparte)	stilt sandpiper	M,O
Limnodromus scolopaceus (Say)	long-billed dowitcher	M
Gallinago gallinago (Linnaeus)	common snipe	W
Scolopax minor Gmelin	American woodcock	S
Larus philadelphia (Ord)	Bonaparte's gull	M
Larus delawarensis Ord	ring-billed gull	M
Larus argentatus Pontoppidan	herring gull	M
Sterna hirundo Linnaeus	common tern	M
Sterna forsteri Nuttall	Forster's tern	M,O
Sterna fuscata Linnaeus	sooty tern	O

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Chlidonias niger (Linnaeus)	black tern	M,O
Columba livia[c] Gmelin	rock dove, domestic pigeon	R
Zenaida macroura (Linnaeus)	mourning dove	R
+Ectopistes migratorius[d] (Linnaeus)	passenger pigeon	
+Conuropsis carolinensis[d] (Linnaeus)	Carolina parakeet	
Coccyzus erythropthalmus (Wilson)	black-billed cuckoo	S
Coccyzus americanus (Linnaeus)	yellow-billed cuckoo	S
Tyto alba (Scopoli)	common barn-owl	R
Otus asio (Linnaeus)	eastern screech-owl	R
Bubo virginianus (Gmelin)	great horned owl	R
Nyctea scandiaca (Linnaeus)	snowy owl	W,O
Strix varia Barton	barred owl	R
Asio otus (Linnaeus)	long-eared owl	W
Asio flammeus (Pontoppidan)	short-eared owl	W
Aegolius acadicus (Gmelin)	northern saw-whet owl	W

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Chordeiles minor (Forster)	common nighthawk	S
Caprimulgus carolinensis Gmelin	Chuck-will's-widow	S
Caprimulgus vociferus Wilson	whip-poor-will	S
Chaetura pelagica (Linnaeus)	chimney swift	S
Archilochus colubris (Linnaeus)	ruby-throated hummingbird	S
Ceryle alcyon (Linnaeus)	belted kingfisher	S/R
Melanerpes erythrocephalus (Linnaeus)	red-headed woodpecker	R
Melanerpes carolinus (Linnaeus)	red-bellied woodpecker	R
Sphyrapicus varius (Linnaeus)	yellow-bellied sapsucker	S
Picoides pubescens (Linnaeus)	downy woodpecker	R
Picoides villosus (Linnaeus)	hairy woodpecker	R
Colaptes auratus (Linnaeus)	northern flicker	R
Dryocopus pileatus (Linnaeus)	pileated woodpecker	R
Contopus borealis (Swainson)	olive-sided flycatcher	S
Contopus virens (Linnaeus)	eastern wood-pewee	S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Empidonax flaviventris (Baird and Baird)	yellow-bellied flycatcher	M
Empidonax virescens (Vieillot)	Acadian flycatcher	S
Empidonax traillii (Audubon)	willow flycatcher	S
Empidonax minimus (Baird and Baird)	least flycatcher	S
Sayornis phoebe (Latham)	eastern phoebe	S/R
Myiarchus crinitus (Linnaeus)	great crested flycatcher	S
Tyrannus tyrannus (Linnaeus)	eastern kingbird	S
Tyrannus forficatus (Gmelin)	scissor-tailed flycatcher	S,O
Eremophila alpestris (Linnaeus)	horned lark	R
Progne subis (Linnaeus)	purple martin	S
Tachycineta bicolor (Vieillot)	tree swallow	S,O
Stelgidopteryx serripennis (Audubon)	northern rough-winged swallow	S
Riparia riparia (Linnaeus)	bank swallow	S
Hirundo pyrrhonota Vieillot	cliff swallow	S
Hirundo rustica Linnaeus	barn swallow	S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Cyanocitta cristata (Linnaeus)	blue jay	R
Corvus brachyrhynchos Brehm	American crow	R
Corvus corax Linnaeus	common raven	R
Parus atricapillus Linnaeus	black-capped chickadee	R
Parus carolinensis Audubon	Carolina chickadee	R
Parus bicolor Linnaeus	tufted titmouse	R
Sitta canadensis Linnaeus	red-breasted nuthatch	W/R
Sitta carolinensis Latham	white-breasted nuthatch	R
Certhia americana Bonaparte	brown creeper	W/R
Thryothorus ludovicianus (Latham)	Carolina wren	R
Thryomanes bewickii (Audubon)	Bewick's wren	S/R
Troglodytes aedon Vieillot	house wren	S
Troglodytes troglodytes (Linnaeus)	winter wren	W/R
Cistothorus platensis (Latham)	sedge wren	M
Cistothorus palustris (Wilson)	marsh wren	M

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Regulus satrapa Lichtenstein	golden-crowned kinglet	W/R
Regulus calendula (Linnaeus)	ruby-crowned kinglet	W
Polioptila caerulea (Linnaeus)	blue-gray gnatcatcher	S
Sialia sialis (Linnaeus)	eastern bluebird	R
Catharus fuscescens (Stephens)	veery	S
Catharus minimus (Lafresnaye)	gray-cheeked thrush	M
Catharus ustulatus (Nuttall)	Swainson's thrush	M
Catharus guttatus (Pallas)	hermit thrush	W
Hylocichla mustelina (Gmelin)	wood thrush	S
Turdus migratorius Linnaeus	American robin	R
Dumetella carolinensis (Linnaeus)	gray catbird	S
Mimus polyglottos (Linnaeus)	northern mockingbird	R
Toxostoma rufum (Linnaeus)	brown thrasher	S
Anthus spinoletta (Linnaeus)	water pipit	M
Bombycilla cedrorum Vieillot	cedar waxwing	R

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Lanius ludovicianus Linnaeus	loggerhead shrike	R
Vireo griseus (Boddaert)	white-eyed vireo	S
Vireo solitarius (Wilson)	solitary vireo	S
Vireo flavifrons Vieillot	yellow-throated vireo	S
Vireo gilvus (Vieillot)	warbling vireo	S
Vireo philadelphicus (Cassin)	Philadelphia vireo	M
Vireo olivaceus (Linnaeus)	red-eyed vireo	S
Vermivora pinus (Linnaeus)	blue-winged warbler	S
Vermivora chrysoptera (Linnaeus)	golden-winged warbler	S
Vermivora peregrina (Wilson)	Tennessee warbler	M
Vermivora celata (Say)	orange-crowned warbler	M
Vermivora ruficapilla (Wilson)	Nashville warbler	M
Parula americana (Linnaeus)	northern parula	S
Dendroica petechia (Linnaeus)	yellow warbler	S
Dendroica pensylvanica (Linnaeus)	chestnut-sided warbler	S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Dendroica magnolia (Wilson)	magnolia warbler	M
Dendroica tigrina (Gmelin)	Cape May warbler	M
Dendroica caerulescens (Gmelin)	black-throated blue warbler	S
Dendroica coronata (Linnaeus)	yellow-rumped warbler	W
Dendroica virens (Gmelin)	black-throated green warbler	S
Dendroica fusca (Muller)	blackburnian warbler	S
Dendroica dominica (Linnaeus)	yellow-throated warbler	S
Dendroica pinus (Wilson)	pine warbler	S/R
Dendroica discolor (Vieillot)	prairie warbler	S
Dendroica palmarum (Gmelin)	palm warbler	M
Dendroica castanea (Wilson)	bay-breasted warbler	M
Dendroica striata (Forster)	blackpoll warbler	M
Dendroica cerulea (Wilson)	cerulean warbler	S,O
Mniotilta varia (Linnaeus)	black-and-white warbler	S
Setophaga ruticilla (Linnaeus)	American redstart	S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Protonotaria citrea (Boddaert)	prothonotary warbler	S,O
Helmitheros vermivorus (Gmelin)	worm-eating warbler	S
Limnothlypis swainsonii (Audubon)	Swainson's warbler	S
Seiurus aurocapillus (Linnaeus)	ovenbird	S
Seiurus noveboracensis (Gmelin)	northern waterthrush	M
Seiurus motacilla (Vieillot)	Louisiana waterthrush	S
Oporornis formosus (Wilson)	Kentucky warbler	S
Oporornis agilis (Wilson)	Connecticut warbler	M
Oporornis philadelphia (Wilson)	mourning warbler	M
Geothlypis trichas (Linnaeus)	common yellowthroat	S
Wilsonia citrina (Boddaert)	hooded warbler	S
Wilsonia pusilla (Wilson)	Wilson's warbler	M
Wilsonia canadensis (Linnaeus)	Canada warbler	S
Icteria virens (Linnaeus)	yellow-breasted chat	S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Piranga rubra (Linnaeus)	summer tanager	S
Piranga olivacea (Gmelin)	scarlet tanager	S
Cardinalis cardinalis (Linnaeus)	northern cardinal	R
Pheucticus ludovicianus (Linnaeus)	rose-breasted grosbeak	S
Guiraca caerulea (Linnaeus)	blue grosbeak	S
Passerina cyanea (Linnaeus)	indigo bunting	S
Spiza americana (Gmelin)	dickcissel	S,O
Pipilo erythrophthalmus (Linnaeus)	rufous-sided towhee	R
Aimophila aestivalis (Lichtenstein)	Bachman's sparrow	S
Spizella arborea (Wilson)	American tree sparrow	W,O
Spizella passerina (Bechstein)	chipping sparrow	S/R
Spizella pusilla (Wilson)	field sparrow	R
Pooecetes gramineus (Gmelin)	Vesper sparrow	W/S

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Chondestes grammacus (Say)	lark sparrow	S,O
Passerculus sandwichensis (Gmelin)	Savannah sparrow	W
Ammodramus savannarum (Gmelin)	grasshopper sparrow	S
Ammodramus henslowii (Audubon)	Henslow's sparrow	M
Ammodramus leconteii (Audubon)	Le Conte's sparrow	M,O
Ammodramus caudacutus (Gmelin)	sharp-tailed sparrow	M
Passerella iliaca (Merrem)	fox sparrow	W
Melospiza melodia (Wilson)	song sparrow	R
Melospiza lincolnii (Audubon)	Lincoln's sparrow	M,O
Melospiza georgiana (Latham)	swamp sparrow	W
Zonotrichia albicollis (Gmelin)	white-throated sparrow	W
Zonotrichia leucophrys (Forster)	white-crowned sparrow	W
Junco hyemalis (Linnaeus)	dark-eyed junco	W/R
Dolichonyx oryzivorus (Linnaeus)	bobolink	M
Agelaius phoeniceus (Linnaeus)	red-winged blackbird	S/R

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name	Seasonality
Class Aves (cont)	bird	
Sturnella magna (Linnaeus)	eastern meadowlark	R
Euphagus carolinus (Muller)	rusty blackbird	W
Quiscalus quiscula (Linnaeus)	common grackle	R
Molothrus ater (Boddaert)	brown-headed cowbird	R
Icterus spurius (Linnaeus)	orchard oriole	S
Icterus galbula (Linnaeus)	northern oriole	S
Carpodacus purpureus (Gmelin)	purple finch	W
Loxia curvirostra Linnaeus	red crossbill	R
Carduelis pinus (Wilson)	pine siskin	W
Carduelis tristis (Linnaeus)	American goldfinch	R
Coccothraustes vespertinus (Cooper)	evening grosbeak	W,O

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia	mammal
Didelphis virginiana Kerr	Virginia opossum
Sorex cinereus Kerr	masked shrew
Sorex longirostris (Bachman)	southeastern shrew
Sorex palustris (Richardson)	water shrew
Sorex fumeus (Miller)	smoky shrew
Sorex dispar Batchelder	long-tailed shrew
Microsorex hoyi (Baird)	pygmy shrew
Blarina brevicauda (Say)	short-tailed shrew
Cryptotis parva (Say)	least shrew
Parascalops breweri (Bachman)	hairy-tailed mole
Scalopus aquaticus (Linnaeus)	eastern mole
Condylura cristata (Linnaeus)	star-nosed mole
Myotis lucifugus (Le Conte)	little brown bat
Myotis grisescens A.H. Howell	gray bat
Myotis keenii (Merriam)	Keen's bat

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia (cont)	mammal
Myotis sodalis Miller and Allen	Indiana bat
Myotis leibii (Audubon and Bachman)	small-footed bat
Lasionycteris noctivagans (Le Conte)	silver-haired bat
Pipistrellus subflavus (F. Cuvier)	eastern pipistrelle
Eptesicus fuscus (Beauvois)	big brown bat
Lasiurus borealis (Muller)	red bat
Lasiurus cinereus (Beauvois)	hoary bat
Nycticeius humeralis (Rafinesque)	evening bat
Plecotus rafinesquii (Lesson)	Rafinesque's big-eared bat
Sylvilagus floridanus (Allen)	eastern cottontail
Sylvilagus transitionalis (Bangs)	New England cottontail
Lepus americanus Erxleben	snowshoe hare
Tamias striatus (Linnaeus)	eastern chipmunk
Marmota monax (Linnaeus)	woodchuck, groundhog
Sciurus carolinensis Gmelin	gray squirrel
Sciurus niger (Linnaeus)	fox squirrel

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia (cont)	mammal
Tamiasciurus hudsonicus (Erxleben)	red squirrel
Glaucomys volans (Linnaeus)	southern flying squirrel
Glaucomys sabrinus (Shaw)	northern flying squirrel
Castor canadensis (Kuhl)	beaver
Oryzomys palustris (Harlan)	marsh rice rat
Reithrodontomys humulis (Audubon and Bachman)	eastern harvest mouse
Peromyscus maniculatus Wagner	deer mouse
Peromyscus leucopus (Rafinesque)	white-footed mouse
Peromyscus gossypinus (Le Conte)	cotton mouse
Ochrotomys nuttali (Harlan)	golden mouse
Sigmodon hispidus Say and Ord	hispid cotton rat
Neotoma floridana (Ord)	eastern wood rat
Clethrionomys gapperi (Vigors)	Gapper's red-backed mouse
Microtus pennsylvanicus (Ord)	meadow vole
Microtus chrotorrhinus (Miller)	rock vole
Microtus pinetorum (Le Conte)	pine mouse

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia (cont)	mammal
Ondatra zibethicus (Linnaeus)	muskrat
Synaptomys cooperi Baird	southern bog lemming
Rattus rattus[c] (Linnaeus)	black rat, roof rat
Rattus norvegicus[c] (Berkenhout)	Norway rat, brown rat, house rat
Mus musculus[c] Linnaeus	house mouse
Zapus hudsonius (Zimmermann)	meadow jumping mouse
Napaeozapus insignis (Miller)	woodland jumping mouse
Canis familiaris Linnaeus	domestic dog
Canis lupus[b] Linnaeus	gray wolf
Vulpes vulpes Linnaeus	red fox
Urocyon cinereoargenteus (Schreber)	gray fox
Ursus americanus (Pallas)	black bear
Procyon lotor (Linnaeus)	eastern raccoon
Martes pennanti[b] (Erxleben)	fisher
Mustela nivalis Linnaeus	least weasel

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia (cont)	mammal
Mustela frenata Lichtenstein	long-tailed weasel
Mustela vison Schreber	mink
Spilogale putorius (Linnaeus)	eastern spotted skunk
Mephitis mephitis (Schreber)	striped skunk
Lutra canadensis[b] (Schreber)	river otter
Felis concolor[b] Linnaeus	mountain lion, cougar, panther
Felis catus[c] Linnaeus	domestic cat
Lynx rufus (Schreber)	bobcat
Equus caballus[c] Linnaeus	domestic horse
Sus scrofa[c] Linnaeus	domestic pig/hog
Cervus canadensis[b] Erxleben	elk, wapiti
Odocoileus virginianus (Boddaert)	white-tailed deer
Bison bison[b] (Linnaeus)	bison, buffalo
Bos taurus[c] Linnaeus	domestic cattle
Capra hircus[c] Linnaeus	domestic goat

Table A-4--continued.

Scientific Name	Common Name
Class Mammalia (cont)	mammal
Ovis aries[c] Linnaeus	domestic sheep

[a]The following terms and abbreviations are used regarding the seasonal occurrence of various birds in the Overhill Cherokee country of eastern Tennessee:

Year-round resident (R) refers to a bird that stays in the area throughout the year, i.e., permanent resident (sedentary).

Winter (W) refers to a bird that stays in the area for the duration of the winter only.

Spring and summer (S) refers to a bird that stays in the area for the duration of the breeding season only.

Migrant (M) refers to a bird that passes through the area in the spring and/or in the fall.

Occasional visitor (O) refers to a bird that is not regularly present in the area either as a year-round resident or winter or spring/summer occupant or as a migrant; its occurrence is infrequent and unpredictable.

When a bird varies in its seasonal occurrence in different sections of eastern Tennessee, the seasonal abbreviations are separated by a slash line (/).

[b]Animal that became extirpated during or after the time period under study.

[c]Animal that was introduced during the time period under study.

[d]Animal that became extinct after the time period under study.

Sources:
Fish--Bogan 1976; Evermann and Hildebrand 1914; Lee et al. 1980; McClane 1978; Rostlund 1952; Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) 1972.
Amphibians--Behler and King 1979; Conant 1975; Gentry 1955; Huheey and Stupka 1967; King 1939, 1944; Schmidt 1953; Smith 1978; TVA 1972.
Reptiles--Behler and King 1979; Conant 1975; Gentry 1956; Huheey and Stupka 1967; King 1939, 1944; Schmidt 1953; Smith and Brodie 1982; TVA 1972.
Birds--American Ornithologists' Union (AOU) 1983; Bull and Farrand 1977; National Geographic Society 1983; Peterson 1980; Robbins et al. 1983; TVA 1972.
Mammals--Burt and Grossenheider 1976; Hall 1981; Hamilton and Whitaker 1979; Kellogg 1939; Linzey and Linzey 1971; TVA 1972; Whitaker 1980.

APPENDIX B
ANIMALS IN CHEROKEE SUBSISTENCE AND OTHER SECULAR ACTIVITIES

Table B-1
Cherokee Subsistence and Other Secular Uses of Animals

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
NATIVE NORTH AMERICAN ANIMALS		
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders		
vle 'locust'	larva	food
jasgayli 'yellow-jacket'	larva	food
Invertebrates--"Fish" invertebrates		
dagvna 'mussel'	shell	knife
marine mollusc (imported)	shell	wampum for articles of ornamentation such as necklaces and collars wampum for hair ornamentation wampum for headband ornamentation worn by men wampum as medium of exchange
jisdvna 'crayfish'	meat	food
Fish		
ajaldi 'fish'	meat	food
	bone	sewing needle arrow point
	scale	arrow point

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Fish (cont)		
adaja 'mountain/ speckled trout'	meat	food
amakta 'minnow'	meat	food
ugvsdelli or **jugi-juyhvsdi** 'hornyhead fish'	meat	food
daloge 'hog sucker'	meat	food
agola 'sun perch'	meat	food
unoga 'trout/bass'	meat	food
gasadi 'drumfish/ buffalo fish'	meat	food
Herpetofauna-- Toads/frogs		
toad/frog	meat	food
walosi 'toad'	meat	food

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Herpetofauna-- Toads/frogs (cont)		
dusdu 'spring frog'	meat	food
gwalga 'type of frog'	meat	food
Herpetofauna-- Salamanders/ lizards		
juwa 'water dog/ mud puppy'	meat	food
duweka 'spring lizard'	meat	food
Birds		
jisgwa 'bird'	meat	food
	eggs	food
	bill	arrow point
	feather	summer mantle clothing ornamentation hair ornamentation fastened to arrow
gajedali or kanasgowa 'crane/heron'	meat	food

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Birds (cont)		
gajedali or **kanasgowa** 'crane/heron' and/or **unega gajedali** 'white crane/ egret'	feather	headband ornamentation worn by men ear ornamentation worn by men
sasa 'goose'	down (dyed red)	hair ornamentation
tawodi 'hawk'	skin	hair ornamentation
tvdasdi 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'	meat	food
gvna 'turkey'	entire animal	trade
	meat	food
	bone	beads for necklaces worn by women
	wing/leg bone	turkey hunting decoy call
	cockspur	ornamentation on men's boots arrow point

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Birds (cont)		
gvna 'turkey' (cont)	feather	clothing such as mantles, blankets, and women's short gowns hair ornamentation fastened to arrow
	wing	fan to remove smoke in hothouse
guhgwe 'quail/ partridge/ bobwhite'	meat	food
tojuhwa 'redbird'	wing	hair ornamentation
Mammals		
nvhgi-dikanasa!dv 'mammal'	meat	food
	skin/fur	clothing bedclothes head of drum trade
jisdu 'rabbit'	meat	food
ogana 'groundhog/ woodchuck'	meat	food bait for catching crayfish
saloli 'squirrel'	meat	food

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Mammals (cont)		
doya 'beaver'	meat	food
	skin/fur	winter hunting clothing and "matchcoat" trade
jisdeji daloni 'weasel'	skin/fur	tobacco pouch
porcupine (imported)	quill	moccasin ornamentation headband ornamentation worn by men
gihli 'dog'	living animal	used by hunters in tracking and capturing wild game
yona 'bear'	meat	food
	fat	food such as cooking oil and condiment or sauce ointment for hair used with buffalo wool by young men for piercing ears grease for bows used as essence, or perfume, by women
	hair (dyed yellow and red)	thread and cloth

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Mammals (cont)		
yona 'bear' (cont)	entrails	bowstring
	skin/fur	winter hunting clothing shoes bedclothes saddle pad trade
kvhli 'raccoon'	meat	food
svgi 'mink'	skin/fur	tobacco pouch
jiya 'otter'	skin/fur	winter hunting clothing headband and cap worn by men trade
tlvdaji 'panther/ mountain lion'	skin	winter hunting clothing neck band worn by men bedclothes
sihgwa ujetsdi 'opossum'	meat	food
	hair	spun into thread, which was dyed yellow, black, and red and then woven into garters and girdles worn by young men

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Mammals (cont)		
ahwi 'deer'	meat	food
	fat	mixed with white clay to form white paint
	horn (antler)	hair ornamentation worn by men sewing needle arrow point pounded and boiled to form glue
	bone	sewing needle
	sinew	string or thread
	hoof	ornamentation on men's boots
	hair (stained)	hair ornamentation
	skin	clothing worn by men and women bedclothes "bottle," or container trade

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Mammals (cont)		
ahwi egwa 'elk'	meat	food
	skin	shoes bedclothes
yansa 'buffalo'	meat	food
	horn	spoon trumpet
	skin	winter mantle bedclothes saddle trade
	wool	yarn and cloth belts cord used with bear fat by young men for piercing ears
INTRODUCED OLD WORLD ANIMALS		
Invertebrates		
wadulisi 'bee'	honey	food trade
	beeswax	trade

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Birds		
jitaga 'chicken'	entire animal	trade
	meat	food
	eggs	food trade
Mammals		
sogwili 'horse'	living animal	beast of burden means of transportation
	meat	food in times of crisis
	hair (dyed red)	tobacco pouch ornamentation
	skin (dyed red)	hair band
sihgwa 'pig/hog'	living animal	trade
	meat	food
ahwi-ahanulvhi 'goat'	meat	food
ahwi-unodena 'sheep'	wool	manufacture of woolen cloth

Table B-1--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Secular Use
Mammals (cont)		
wahga 'cattle'	living animal	trade
	meat	food
	milk	food made into butter made into cheese
	buttermilk	bait for catching crayfish

Sources: Alvord and Bidgood 1912; American State Papers 1834; Bartram 1853; Brown 1938a; Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Cherokee Phoenix 1828, 1831; Cheves 1894; Chiltoskey 1975; Corkran 1962; De Vorsey 1971; Evans n.d.; Foreman 1956; Fries 1970; Fyffe 1761; Grant 1975; Hamer 1925b; Harper 1958; Hawkins 1916; Kilpatrick 1966; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; King 1976; Klinck and Talman 1970; Lanman 1849; Louis-Philippe 1977; Malone 1956a; McClary 1962; McDowell 1955, 1958, 1970; Menzies 1761; Mereness 1916; Mooney 1885, 1888, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Public Record Office 1725, 1761; Richardson 1759; Royce 1887; Schwarze 1923; Speck 1927; Speck and Broom 1951; Swanton 1979; Thwaites 1904; Tucker 1969; Ulmer and Beck 1951; Walker 1931; Williams 1927, 1928, 1930, 1931; Willis 1955; Witthoft 1946b; Yonge 1933.

APPENDIX C
ANIMALS IN CHEROKEE IDEOLOGY AND RITUAL

Table C-1
Animal Actors in Cherokee Mythology

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Under World		
Jisdvna Crayfish	cosmogonic	Creation of the World
Jisgagili Red Crayfish	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made
Ajaldi Fish	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine
Dugalvlna Type of Small Fish (Darter)	animal	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill
Dagwa Mythical Fish	wonder	The Hunter in the **Dagwa**
Walosi Toad	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine or The Council for Apportionment
Kanuna Bullfrog	animal	Why the Bullfrog's Head Is Striped The Bullfrog Lover
Digiji Tadpole	animal	The Bullfrog Lover
Saligugi Water Turtle	animal	Rabbit and Turtle Race
Ulanawa or **Klanawa** Softshell Turtle	wonder	The Large Turtle

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Under World (cont)		
Daliksda or **Kwandayoha** Spreading Adder	cosmogonic	The Daughter of the Sun
Uksuhti Black Racer/ Mountain Blacksnake	cosmogonic	The First Fire
	animal	The Hunter and the **Uksuhti**
Gallegi Blacksnake	cosmogonic	The First Fire
	animal	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill
Wodige Askoli or **Juktajisdahli** Copperhead Snake	cosmogonic	The Daughter of the Sun
Ujonati Rattlesnake	cosmogonic	The Daughter of the Sun
	animal	The Rattlesnake's Vengeance
Uktena Mythical Horned Snake	cosmogonic	The Daughter of the Sun
	animal	The **Uktena** and the **Ulunsuti** **Ogan-Uniji**'s Search for the **Uktena** The Red Man and the **Uktena** or Thunder Kills an **Uktena**
	wonder	The Nest of the **Sanuwa**

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Under World (cont)		
Uwljvda Mythical Bouncer Snake	animal	The **Uwljvda**
Usdadli Mythical Foot Snake/ Fawn Imitator	animal	The **Usdadli**
Doya Beaver	animal	The Man Who Married a Beaver
Jiya Otter	animal	The Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting How the Rabbit Stole the Otter's Coat or The Rabbit Dupes the Otter
Middle World		
Nvhgi-dikanasaldv Quadruped/Four-Footed Beast	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Tinegwa Mole	cosmogonic	How They Brought Back the Tobacco The Fire Woman
	animal	Why the Mole Lives Underground

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Jisdu Rabbit	animal	The Rabbit Goes Duck Hunting How the Rabbit Stole the Otter's Coat or The Rabbit Dupes the Otter Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare How the Wildcat Caught the Gobbler or The Rabbit Dupes the Wildcat How the Terrapin Beat the Rabbit or Rabbit and Turtle Race The Rabbit and the Tar Wolf The Rabbit and the Possum After a Wife or The Rabbit Dupes the Possum The Rabbit Dines the Bear The Rabbit Escapes From the Wolves Flint Visits the Rabbit or The Rabbit Destroys Stoneclad How the Deer Got Horns Why the Deer's Teeth Are Blunt What Became of the Rabbit or The Deer Dupes the Rabbit The Rabbit Dupes the Fox The Rabbit Dupes the Wolf The Rabbit and the Terrapin Dupe the Wolf The Rabbit Steals the Mask of the Son of **Ughv**

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Jisdu Rabbit (cont)	animal	How the Bobwhite Got His Whistle How the Turkey Got His Ruff and the Turtle His Jewels
Kiyuga Ground Squirrel/ Chipmunk	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine or The Council for Apportionment
	animal	How the Chipmunk Got Its Back Striped
Ogana Groundhog/ Woodchuck	animal	Origin of the Groundhog Dance: The Groundhog's Head or How the Groundhog Lost His Tail
Gihli Dog	cosmogonic	The Milky Way The Deluge
	animal	The Wolf's Revenge--The Wolf and the Dog
	wonder	The Hunter and the Three Dogs

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Wahya Wolf	cosmogonic	Why Some Animals Can See at Night
	animal	The Rabbit and the Tar Wolf The Rabbit Escapes From the Wolves The Terrapin's Escape From the Wolves or The Possum and the Terrapin Are Tried for Killing the Wolf Origin of the Groundhog Dance: The Groundhog's Head or How the Groundhog Lost His Tail The Wolf's Revenge--The Wolf and the Dog How the Redbird Got His Color The Rabbit Dupes the Wolf The Rabbit and the Terrapin Dupe the Wolf
	miscellaneous	Corn and Beans
Juhla Fox	animal	The Rabbit and the Tar Wolf How the Bear Lost His Tail The Rabbit Dupes the Fox

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Yona Bear	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine The Obtaining of Fire
	animal	How the Rabbit Stole the Otter's Coat The Rabbit Dines the Bear The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals How the Bear Lost His Tail
	wonder	Origin of the Bear: The Bear Songs The Bear Man or The Man Who Became a Bear
Galos-Ganvhida Mythical Bear	wonder	The Bear Man
Kvhli Raccoon	animal	How the Redbird Got His Color
Svgi Mink	animal	Why the Mink Smells
Dila Skunk/Polecat	cosmogonic	The Obtaining of Fire
	miscellaneous	A Skunk Cures a Man of Smallpox
Tlvdaji Panther/ Mountain Lion	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made
	wonder	The Underground Panthers
	miscellaneous	Corn and Beans

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Gvhe Wildcat/Bobcat	animal	How the Wildcat Caught the Gobbler or The Rabbit Dupes the Wildcat
	miscellaneous	Corn and Beans
Sihgwa Ujetsdi Opossum	animal	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare The Rabbit and the Possum After a Wife or The Rabbit Dupes the Possum The Terrapin's Escape From the Wolves or The Possum and the Terrapin Are Tried for Killing the Wolf
Ahwi Deer	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine
	animal	How the Deer Got Horns Why the Deer's Teeth Are Blunt What Became of the Rabbit or The Deer Dupes the Rabbit The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals The Contest of the Deer for Sexual Differentiation The Race Between the Red Deer and the Terrapin
Ahwi Egwa Elk	animal	The Man Who Married an Elk

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)		
Yansa Buffalo	animal	Why the Buzzard's Head Is Bare
Upper World		
Jisgwa Bird	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine
	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Gajedali or **Kanasgowa** Crane	animal	The Race Between the Crane and the Hummingbird The Crane Leads the Dance
Dagalga Blue Goose	cosmogonic	How They Brought Back the Tobacco
Suli Buzzard	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made The Obtaining of Fire
	animal	Why the Buzzard's Head Is Bare or How the Buzzard Became Bald The Hunter and the Buzzard
Kanvjuhwa Fish Hawk/ Osprey	animal	The Man and the Fishinghawk

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)		
Awoha!li Eagle	cosmogonic	The Obtaining of Fire
	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals The Eagle's Revenge The Birds Select a Chief
Tawodi Hawk	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Sanuwa Mythical Hawk	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
	wonder	The Nest of the **Sanuwa** The Hunter and the **Sanuwa** The Little People and the Giant Yellow Jackets
Sanuwa Usdi Pigeon Hawk	animal	The Birds Select a Chief
Tvdasdi Pheasant/ Ruffed Grouse	animal	Why the Turkey Gobbles The Pheasant Beating Corn; Origin of the Pheasant Dance
Gvna Turkey	cosmogonic	The Obtaining of Fire The Fire Woman
	animal	How the Wildcat Caught the Gobbler How the Turkey Got His Beard or How the Turkey Got His Ruff and the Turtle His Jewels Why the Turkey Gobbles

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)		
Guhgwe Quail/Partridge/ Bobwhite	animal	How the Partridge Got His Whistle or How the Bobwhite Got His Whistle
Woyi Pigeon	animal	The Migration of the Animals
Owl	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made
	animal	The Owl Husband
Wahuhi Screech Owl	cosmogonic	The First Fire
Tsgili Great Horned Owl	cosmogonic	The First Fire
Uguku Hooting Owl	cosmogonic	The First Fire
	animal	The Owl Gets Married
Walela Hummingbird	cosmogonic	How They Brought Back the Tobacco
	animal	The Race Between the Crane and the Hummingbird
Jatla Kingfisher	animal	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)		
Julilena Yellow-Bellied Sapsucker	wonder	The Bird That Says "Somebody's Coming!" and the Bird That Lies
Unegada Yellowhammer	animal	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill
Gvgwoga Pileated Woodpecker/ Wood Hen	animal	The Sapsucker Husband
Dludlu Purple Martin	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Koga Crow	cosmogonic	The Obtaining of Fire
Kolana Raven	cosmogonic	The First Fire or The Obtaining of Fire
Jigilili Chickadee/ Tomtit	wonder	**Utlunta,** The Spear-Finger or The Bird That Says "Somebody's Coming!" and the Bird That Lies
Ujugi or Usdidi Tufted Titmouse	wonder	**Utlunta,** The Spear-Finger or The Bird That Says "Somebody's Coming!" and the Bird That Lies

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)		
Wren	miscellaneous	When Babies Are Born: The Wren and the Cricket
Jiji Winter Wren	animal	The Birds Select a Chief
Huhu Yellow-Breasted Chat/Yellow Mockingbird	animal	The **Huhu** Gets Married
Tojuhwa Redbird	cosmogonic	The Daughter of the Sun
	animal	How the Redbird Got His Color
Nokwsi Meadowlark	animal	The Bird That Was Ashamed of His Feet
Ambiguities/Anomalies		
Daksi Terrapin	animal	How the Terrapin Beat the Rabbit The Terrapin's Escape From the Wolves or The Possum and the Terrapin Are Tried for Killing the Wolf The Wolf's Revenge--The Wolf and the Dog The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
Daksi Terrapin (cont)	animal	How the Turkey Got His Beard or How the Turkey Got His Ruff and the Turtle His Jewels How the Partridge Got His Whistle or How the Bobwhite Got His Whistle The Rabbit Dupes the Wolf The Rabbit and the Terrapin Dupe the Wolf The Race Between the Red Deer and the Terrapin
Dlameha Bat	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Tewa Flying Squirrel	animal	The Ball Game of the Birds and Animals
Tsgoya Insect/Worm	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine
	animal	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare The Insect Husband
Red Worm	animal	The Red Worm Husband
Elagwa Snail	animal	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare
Dlanusi Leech	wonder	The Great Leech of **Dlanusiya**

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
Tolatsga Grasshopper	animal	The Bird That Was Ashamed of His Feet
Sigigi Katydid	animal	The Katydid's Warning
	wonder	**Vtsayi**
Taladu or **Didasdoyesgi** Cricket	animal	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare
	miscellaneous	When Babies Are Born: The Wren and the Cricket
Doyunisi Water Beetle/ Mellow Bug	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made
Digsi **Digasagwale-hlidohi** Tumblebug	wonder	**Untsaiyi**, The Gambler or **Vtsayi**
Daliyodaga Grubworm	cosmogonic	Origin of Disease and Medicine or The Council for Apportionment
Wasohla Red-Brown Moth/ Tobacco Worm	cosmogonic	How They Brought Back the Tobacco
Ulaga Mythical Yellow-Jacket	cosmogonic	The Great Yellow-Jacket: Origin of Fish and Frogs

Table C-1--continued.

Animal Actor	Type of Myth	Title of Myth
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
Kanainesgi Amayehi or **Dilsdoyhdi** Water Spider	cosmogonic	How the World Was Made The First Fire or The Obtaining of Fire
Wahga Cow	animal	How the Buzzard Became Bald

Sources: Butrick 1884, n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1956, 1969; Davis 1910, 1937; Kilpatrick 1966; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Lanman 1849; Mooney 1888, 1900a; Olbrechts 1931; Payne n.d.; Speck 1927; Ten Kate 1889; Terrell 1892; Williams 1927, 1930; Witthoft 1946a, 1946b.

Table C-2
Attributive Mutations in Animal Actors
in Cherokee Mythology

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Under World				
Jisgagili Red Crayfish	shell scorched red	circum-stantial	Sun's path too low	How the World Was Made
Walosi Toad	"sores" (warts)	circum-stantial	kicked and trampled upon by humans	Origin of Disease and Medicine
Kanuna Bullfrog	yellow stripes on head	design	requested a conjuror to paint stripes	Why the Bullfrog's Head Is Striped
			or	
		revenge	Brass scratched its head for ridiculing him	Why the Bullfrog's Head Is Striped
Daliksda or **Kwandayoha** Spreading Adder	spits out yellow slime	circum-stantial	blinded by light in attempt to kill the Sun	The Daughter of the Sun

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Under World (cont)				
Uksuhti Black Racer/ Mountain Blacksnake	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire
Gallegi Blacksnake	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire
Jiya Otter	lives in water	circum-stantial	trickster Rabbit threw hot coals on it	How the Rabbit Stole the Otter's Coat or The Rabbit Dupes the Otter
Middle World				
Tinegwa Mole	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Fire Woman

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Tinegwa Mole (cont)	lives underground	design	avoid being killed by conjurors envious of its love charms	Why the Mole Lives Underground
Jisdu Rabbit	loses tail	circum-stantial	Bear pulled off its tail for disguising itself in Otter's coat	How the Rabbit Stole the Otter's Coat
			or	
		circum-stantial	piece of flint hit its tail	The Rabbit Destroys Stoneclad
	split lip	circum-stantial	piece of flint hit its lip	Flint Visits the Rabbit
	habit of gnawing on bushes	punishment	cheated in race	How the Deer Got Horns

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Kiyuga Ground Squirrel/ Chipmunk	stripes on back	punishment	animals scratched its back for defending humans	Origin of Disease and Medicine or The Council for Apportionment
		circum-stantial	or bear skin scratched it	How the Chipmunk Got Its Back Striped
Ogana Groundhog/ Woodchuck	unpleasant smell of head	punishment	made insulting remark in council	Origin of the Groundhog Dance: The Groundhog's Head
	short tail	circum-stantial	Wolf pulled its tail so that it broke when trying to escape	Origin of the Groundhog Dance: The Groundhog's Head or How the Groundhog Lost Its Tail

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Wahya Wolf	ability to see at night	reward	stayed awake for first seven nights	Why Some Animals Can See at Night
Yona Bear	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire
	loses tail	circum-stantial	tail stuck in ice because of prank played by Fox	How the Bear Lost His Tail
Svgi Mink	black color and burnt meat smell	punishment	animals threw it into fire for being a thief	Why the Mink Smells

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Dila Skunk/ Polecat	partially black in color and spotted	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire
Tlvdaji Panther/ Mountain Lion	ability to see at night	reward	stayed awake for first seven nights	How the World Was Made
Sihgwa Ujetsdi Opossum	hairless tail	revenge	trickster Rabbit punished Opossum for its vanity by sending Cricket to cut its tail's hair off	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Sihgwa Ujetsdi Opossum (cont)	"playing possum" (feigning death)	circum-stantial	ashamed when it discovered its hairless tail	Why the Possum's Tail Is Bare
			or	
		circum-stantial	animals attacked it	The Rabbit and the Possum After a Wife
				or
				The Rabbit Dupes the Possum
			or	
		circum-stantial	animals hit it	The Possum and the Terrapin Are Tried for Killing the Wolf
Ahwi Deer	antlers on male	reward	won race against Rabbit by default when Rabbit cheated beforehand	How the Deer Got Horns
			or	
		reward	race between Deer for sexual differentiation	The Contest of the Deer for Sexual Differentiation

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Middle World (cont)				
Ahwi Deer (cont)	short blunt teeth	revenge	trickster Rabbit filed down its teeth	Why the Deer's Teeth Are Blunt
Upper World				
Suli Buzzard	dark color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire
	bare head and eating carrion	punishment	birds punished it for refusing to eat spoiled meat	Why the Buzzard's Head Is Bare or How the Buzzard Became Bald

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)				
Awoha!li Eagle	dark color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire
Tvdasdi Pheasant/ Ruffed Grouse	collar of feathers	reward	payment for Turkey's voice lessons	Why the Turkey Gobbles
Gvna Turkey	dark color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire or The Fire Woman

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)				
Gvna Turkey (cont)	"beard" (vaneless neck feathers)	revenge	seized Terrapin's fresh war scalp or	How the Turkey Got His Beard
		revenge	traded valueless beads with Terrapin for necklace	How the Turkey Got His Ruff and the Turtle His Jewels
	many useless bones in legs	revenge	Terrapin shot cane splints into its legs	How the Turkey Got His Beard
	gobble	circum-stantial	became overexcited in attempting to halloo	Why the Turkey Gobbles
Guhgwe Quail/ Partridge/ Bobwhite	call	revenge	seized Terrapin's fine whistle	How the Partridge Got His Whistle or How the Bobwhite Got His Whistle

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)				
Owl	ability to see at night	reward	stayed awake for first seven nights	How the World Was Made
Wahuhi Screech Owl	red eyes	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire
Tsgili Great Horned Owl	white rings around eyes	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire
Uguku Hooting Owl	white rings around eyes	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)				
Jatla Kingfisher	spear-like bill	gift	given by animals so it could make a living	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill
			or	
		reward	killed a Black-snake preying on Yellowhammer nest	How the Kingfisher Got His Bill
Koga Crow	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The Obtaining of Fire
Kolana Raven	black color	circum-stantial	attempt to obtain first fire	The First Fire or The Obtaining of Fire

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Upper World (cont)				
Ujugi or **Usdidi** Tufted Titmouse	short tongue	punishment	hunters cut off its tongue for lying	**Utlunta**, The Spear-Finger or The Bird That Says "Somebody's Coming!" and the Bird That Lies
Tojuhwa Redbird	red color	reward	given by Wolf for removing plaster from its eyes	How the Redbird Got His Color
Ambiguities/Anomalies				
Daksi Terrapin	"scars" on shell (patched appearance of shell)	circum-stantial	broke its shell against a rock when thrown into water by Wolves	The Terrapin's Escape From the Wolves

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)				
Daksi Terrapin (cont)	red eyes	circum-stantial	cried when Wolves threatened to drown it	The Possum and the Terrapin Are Tried for Killing the Wolf
	round colored markings on neck	revenge	Turkey tricked it into trading necklace for valueless beads	How the Turkey Got His Ruff and the Turtle His Jewels
	no voice	revenge	Partridge seized its whistle	How the Partridge Got His Whistle or How the Bobwhite Got His Whistle
	closes itself tightly in box shell	circum-stantial	ashamed in losing its scalp and whistle	How the Partridge Got His Whistle

Table C-2--continued.

Animal Actor	Attributive Mutation	Type of Mutation	Cause	Title of Myth
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)				
Digsi **Digasagwale-hlidohi** Tumblebug	metallic-green luster on forehead	circum-stantial	brass rubbed off on its head when it struck Brass	**Untsaiyi**, The Gambler or **Vtsayi**
Daliyodaga Grubworm	wriggles on back	circum-stantial	so overjoyed at council that it fell over back-ward and could not regain its feet	Origin of Disease and Medicine or The Council for Apportionment
Kanainesgi **Amayehi** or **Dilsdoyhdi** Water Spider	**dusdi** bowl (egg sac of female spider)	design	weaved bowl in order to carry back first fire	The First Fire or The Obtaining of Fire

Sources: Davis 1910, 1937; Hedges 1973; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney 1888, 1900a; Olbrechts 1931; Speck 1927; Witthoft 1946a, 1946b.

Table C-3
Cherokee Animal Food Taboos

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
animal	meat of animal dying natural death or without bleeding	all
	meat of animal killed with bloodshed	pregnant women
	tongue and breast	boy training to be great war speaker
	leg	rheumatic patients
	blood	all
Under World		
jisdvna 'crayfish'	meat	pregnant women
jisgagili 'red crayfish'	meat	all
ajaldi 'fish'	meat	individuals treated for severe diarrhea women after parturition
tlvdegwa 'eel'	meat	all
kawonu kayvsoli 'pike' (gar)	meat	all
adaja 'mountain/ speckled trout'	meat	rheumatic patients pregnant women

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Under World (cont)		
ugvsdelli or **jugi-juyhvsdi** 'hornyhead fish'	meat	rheumatic patients "yellow" patients
daloge 'hog sucker'	meat	ball players
julisdanali 'blue catfish'	meat	all
usgwohli egwa 'mud catfish'	meat	all
agola 'sun perch'	meat	rheumatic patients
gasadi 'drumfish/ buffalo fish'	meat	rheumatic patients
toad/frog	meat	ball players
gwalga 'type of frog'	meat	great war speaker
juwa 'water dog/ mud puppy'	meat	individuals immediately prior to going into the field
duweka 'spring lizard'	meat	great war speaker
kanegwodi or **vdadi** 'water snake/ water moccasin'	meat	all

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Middle World		
nvhgi-dikanasa!dv 'quadruped/four-footed beast'	meat of young quadrupeds	ball players
	heart	great war speaker
tinegwa 'mole'	meat	all
jisdu 'rabbit'	meat	rheumatic patients ball players pregnant women all individuals during the summer
saloli 'squirrel'	meat	rheumatic patients pregnant women all individuals during the summer
jisdeji 'mouse/rat'	meat	all
jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/rat'	meat	all
jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat'	meat	all
jisdeji usdi 'house mouse'	meat	all
jisdeji utana 'house rat'	meat	all
kanikwsa 'black rat'	meat	all

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Middle World (cont)		
gihli 'dog'[a]	meat	all
wahya 'wolf'	meat	all
juhla 'fox'	meat	all
juhla wodige 'red fox'	meat	all
kvhli 'raccoon'	meat	pregnant women
dila 'skunk/polecat'[b]	meat	all
tlvdaji 'panther/ mountain lion'	meat	all
ahwi 'deer'	hamstring	all
yansa 'buffalo'	meat	rheumatic patients
Upper World		
jisgwa 'bird'	meat of young birds	ball players
	heart	great war speaker

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Upper World (cont)		
suli 'buzzard'[c]	meat	all
kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk/ osprey'	meat	all
awoha!li 'eagle'	meat	all
juwoduhi **jugidahli** 'golden eagle'	meat	all
tawodi 'hawk'	meat	all
tawod!egwa 'red-tailed hawk'	meat	all
digatohnvhida 'marsh/ chicken hawk'	meat	all
digatisgi 'rabbit hawk'	meat	all
sanuwa usdi 'pigeon hawk'	meat	all
gigi 'sparrow hawk'	meat	all
giyagiya 'type of hawk'	meat	all

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Upper World (cont)		
tvdasdi 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'	meat	pregnant women some women throughout childbearing years
gvna 'turkey'	meat	scrofulous patients
	neck	children and sick individuals
galvsahyoha 'woodcock'	meat	all
wahuhi 'screech owl'	meat	all
tsgili 'great horned owl'	meat	all
uguku 'hooting owl'	meat	all
waguli 'whip-poor-will'	meat	all
jatla 'kingfisher'	meat	all
swallow	meat	all
koga 'crow'	meat	all
kolana 'raven'	meat	all

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Upper World (cont)		
jiji 'winter wren'	meat	all
tojuhwa 'redbird'	meat	all
Ambiguities/Anomalies		
dlameha 'bat'	meat	all
vle 'locust'	larva	diphtheria patients
jasgayli 'yellow-jacket'	larva	diphtheria patients
wadulisi 'bee'	honey	diphtheria patients
jitaga 'chicken'	meat	individuals treated for severe diarrhea
	eggs	individuals treated for blisters individuals treated for intestinal worms
wesa 'cat'	meat	all

Table C-3--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Individuals Under Taboo
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
sogwili 'horse'[d]	meat	all

[a]According to one account, a feast of dog meat was consumed in preparation for a war expedition (see Chapter 6).

[b]Skunk meat was consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics (see Chapter 6).

[c]A small quantity of buzzard flesh was consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics (see Chapter 6).

[d]Horse meat was consumed in times of starvation (see Chapters 5 and 6).

Sources: Bartram 1853; Butrick 1884, n.d.a, n.d.b; Evans n.d.; Grant 1975; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1968; Mooney 1890a, 1890b, 1891, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Payne n.d.; Williams 1930; Witthoft 1946b.

Table C-4
Cherokee Folk Beliefs--
Dreams, Omens, and Miscellaneous Beliefs

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
animal	to dream of seeing a dead animal was a sign of sickness
	to dream about meat caused toothache
	to dream of eating meat was a sign of sickness
Under World	
ajaldi 'fish'	to dream about fish caused sickness
	if a person, when fishing, saw a fish dying in the water, one of that person's relatives would die
ugvsdelli or **jugi-juyhvsdi** 'hornyhead fish'	was transformed into a bloody-mouth lizard **giga-juholi**
oliga 'redhorse fish'	was transformed into a scissor-tailed flycatcher **judigwanujugi**
walosi 'toad'	to handle a toad caused warts
frog	a solar eclipse was caused by the attempt of a great frog to swallow the sun
duweka 'spring lizard'	whenever a spring lizard crawled out of a spring, it caused rain
dagahnda 'rainmaker lizard'	its cry brought rain

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Under World (cont)	
jonena or **giga-danegisgi** 'scorpion lizard'	sucked the blood of its victims if its heart was eaten by a dog **gihli**, the latter will always be assured its nutrient requirements
giga-juholi 'bloody-mouth lizard'	was a transformed hornyhead fish **ugvsdelli**, or **jugi-juyhvsdi** sucked the blood of its victims
inada 'snake'	to dream about snakes caused sickness if the Eagle or Town House Dances were performed in the summer, snakes would become doubly dangerous to dream of burning one's foot, hand, or finger caused snakebite
wodige askoli or **juktajisdahli** 'copperhead snake'	to dream about copperhead snakes caused toothache, swelling of the body, and cancer
ujonati 'rattlesnake'	to dream about rattlesnakes caused toothache, swelling of the body, and cancer
uktena 'mythical horned snake'	if a person saw a mythical horned snake, that person or one of person's relatives would die if several persons saw a mythical horned snake, a great tribal calamity would occur

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Middle World	
tinegwa 'mole'	if a child touched a mole, that child's eyesight would be hurt
saloli 'squirrel'	if a person saw two squirrels on a tree fighting and they subsequently fell and died, some of that person's relatives would soon die
gihli 'dog'	if a dog ate the heart of a scorpion lizard **jonena**, or **giga-danegisgi**, it would always be assured its nutrient requirements
	to dream of a dog approaching from a distance caused witchcraft
	if a dog howled, it was a sign of sickness or death
	if a dog was given water to drink in which cartridges had been rinsed, it would be a good tracker during the hunt
	if a dog miraculously talked like a human being, some awful catastrophe would occur
wahya 'wolf'	if a person, when embarking on a journey, startled a wolf, which ran and subsequently looked back and barked, one of that person's relatives or neighbors would soon die
juhla 'fox'	if a fox howled near a house, one of the household would become sick
	if a person, when embarking on a journey, startled a fox, which ran and subsequently looked back and barked, one of that person's relatives or neighbors would soon die

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Middle World (cont)	
sihgwa ujetsdi 'opossum'	its young were conceived without any assistance from the male
ahwi 'deer'	if a hunter dreamed of having bread or fruit, that hunter would have success in killing deer
Upper World	
jisgwa 'bird'	to dream about birds caused "our mind is going to be changed" (i.e., insanity) if a bird flew into a house, some visitor would be coming
gajedali or **kanasgowa** 'crane/heron'	to dream of seeing a crane on the ground or flying low was a sign that someone would soon die
suli 'buzzard'	to wear buzzard feathers caused baldness to fill pillows with buzzard feathers caused baldness
awoha!li 'eagle'	if an eagle was killed in the summer, a frost would come to destroy the crops if the Eagle Dance was performed in the summer, snakes would become doubly dangerous if a person dreamed about eagles or eagle feathers, that person had to arrange for an Eagle Dance; otherwise, one of that person's relatives would die to dream about eagles caused sickness

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Upper World (cont)	
awoha!li 'eagle' (cont)	if a woman dreamed of her son's becoming an eagle, her son would become one of the greatest warriors to dream of seeing an eagle on the ground or flying low was a sign that someone would soon die
tvdasdi 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'	if a pregnant cat **wesa** ate the meat or entrails of a pheasant, its kittens would die within her
gvna 'turkey'	if a ball player wore turkey feathers, he would develop "kernels" (i.e., goiter) to wear turkey feathers caused baldness to fill pillows with turkey feathers caused baldness
owl	was an embodied ghost or disguised witch if an owl called around the house at night, it was a sign of sickness or death if an owl perched on a tree within a town and sang, an enemy would approach within a few days
wahuhi 'screech owl'	if a screech owl perched near a house, particularly that of a sick person, it was a sign of death if, on a war expedition, a screech owl came and cried to the right or left, the warriors would be victorious over their enemies; if, however, it went before or behind and continuously cried, the warriors retreated for fear of defeat

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Upper World (cont)	
wahuhi 'screech owl' (cont)	if a screech owl made some uncommon noise, it was a sign of death
tsgili 'great horned owl'	was a metamorphosed witch
galsdoga 'nighthawk'	if a nighthawk called around the house at night, it was a sign of sickness or death
waguli 'whip-poor-will'	was a disguised witch if a whip-poor-will called around the house at night, it was a sign of sickness or death
judigwanujugi 'scissor-tailed flycatcher'	was a transformed redhorse fish **oliga**
jigilili 'chickadee/ tomtit'	was a news bringer and truth teller if a chickadee perched near a house and sang, an absent friend or a stranger would soon arrive or an enemy was approaching the town if a chickadee perched near a war camp and sang, an enemy was approaching the camp if a person, when on a journey, encountered a chickadee, which flew over and sang, that person would soon meet a stranger

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Upper World (cont)	
ujugi or **usdidi** 'tufted titmouse'	was a news bringer and liar
wren	was a news bringer
jagwolide 'bluebird'	if a bluebird sang, a storm would occur
jawisga 'towhee'	if a towhee sang very fast and loud, an enemy was approaching the town
Ambiguities/Anomalies	
tsgoya 'insect/worm'	to dream about insects/worms caused sickness
sigigi 'katydid'	when a katydid began to sing in midsummer, it was a sign that the corn was ripe
tina 'louse'	to dream about lice was a sign of sickness for the person bothered by them
lolo 'cicada/ jar-fly'	when a cicada began to sing in midsummer, it was a sign that the beans were ripe
daga or **tuya-diskahlawidisgi** 'June-bug'	when a June-bug first arrived, it was a sign that the beans were ripe
tvhga 'fly'	to swallow a fly caused sickness

Table C-4--continued.

Animal	Dream/Omen or Miscellaneous Belief
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)	
dosa 'gnat'	to swallow a gnat caused sickness
dosa utana 'mosquito'	to swallow a mosquito caused sickness
kanajisdeji 'wasp'	to dream about wasps caused blindness
jasgayli 'yellow-jacket'	to dream about yellow-jackets caused blindness
wadulisi 'bee'	to dream about bees caused blindness
jitaga 'chicken'	if a hen crowed like a rooster, someone in the household would become sick or would soon die
wesa 'cat'	if a pregnant cat ate the meat or entrails of a pheasant **tvdasdi**, its kittens would die within her
wahga 'cattle'	to dream of a mad bull rushing wildly caused an epidemic

Sources: Brown 1938a; Butrick n.d.a, n.d.b; Corkran 1969; Kilpatrick 1966; Mooney 1885, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Speck and Broom 1951; Williams 1930; Witthoft 1946a, 1946b.

Table C-5
Animal Spirits in
Cherokee Medicinal Sacred Formulas

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Under World				
Ajaldi Fish	"hot" (fever attacks)		--	--
Amakta Minnow		"yellow" (indigestion)	Killdeer	--
Oliga Redhorse Fish		"insects living in the water" (diphtheria)	Blue Catfish	Insect/Worm
Julisdanali Blue Catfish		"insects living in the water" (diphtheria)	Redhorse Fish	Insect/Worm
Tehga Frog	"eaters" (urinary or kidney disease)		Yellow-Breasted Chat	Kingfisher
		"throat" (diphtheria)	--	Insect/Worm

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Under World (cont)				
Tiyohalli Lizard		actual snakebite	Fawn Imitator	Snake
Saligugi Water Turtle	"black yellowness" (severe digestive disorder)		Terrapin	--
Inada Snake	dreamed snakebite (indigestion)		--	--
	snake dreams (indigestion)		--	--
	actual snakebite		--	Lizard Fawn Imitator
	boil (resulting from snakebite)		--	Spreading Adder Rattlesnake

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Under World (cont)				
Inada Snake (cont)	actual snakebite		--	Raven
Vdadi Water Snake/ Water Moccasin		"simulator" disease (witchcraft)	--	--
Kwandayoha Spreading Adder		boil (resulting from snakebite)	Rattlesnake	Snake
Ujonati Rattlesnake	"drooping" (sore eyes resulting from seeing a rattlesnake)		--	--
		boil (resulting from snakebite)	Spreading Adder	Snake

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Under World (cont)				
Ujonati Rattlesnake (cont)	actual snakebite		--	--
Agina **Ahyelisgi** Fawn Imitator		actual snakebite	Lizard	Snake
Doya Beaver		"tooth comes out" (replacement of deciduous teeth)	--	--
Jiya Otter		"navel" (indigestion)	--	--
		"pains in different places"-- "simulator" disease (witchcraft)	--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Under World (cont)				
Jiya Otter (cont)		"pains in different places" (rheumatism or pleurisy)	--	--
		"pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy)	Mink Fish Hawk Kingfisher	--
		"breast aches"	Weasel Mink Leech	--
		"breast aches"	Weasel Mink Kingfisher	--
		cut in the flesh	Wolf Buzzard	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World				
Nvhgi-dikanasaldv Quadruped/ Four-Footed Beast	diarrhea and dysentery in adults		--	--
Jisdu Rabbit	"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)		Screech Owl Hooting Owl	--
		frostbitten feet	--	--
		"itching" (genitourinary disease)	--	--
Saloli Squirrel		toothache	--	Insect/Worm

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World (cont)				
Jisdeji Mouse		heartburn	Killdeer	--
Jisdeji Daloni Weasel		"vomit bile" (indigestion)	--	--
		"breast aches"	Otter Mink Leech	--
		"breast aches"	Otter Mink Kingfisher	--
Gihli Dog		"simulator" disease (witchcraft)	--	--
		bullet or arrow wound	--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World (cont)				
Gihli Dog (cont)		"food is changed" (digestive trouble)	--	--
		"crippler" (rheumatism)	Terrapin	--
		thorn or splinter in the flesh	Wolf	--
Wahya Wolf		headache	--	--
		frostbitten feet	Fox Opossum Deer	--
		sore eyes	Woodcock	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World (cont)				
Wahya Wolf (cont)		cut in the flesh	Otter Buzzard	--
		thorn or splinter in the flesh	Dog	--
Juhla Fox		frostbitten feet	Wolf Opossum Deer	--
Kvhli Raccoon	sudden fainting spell (severe digestive disorder or apoplexy)		--	--
	sudden fainting spell (severe digestive disorder or apoplexy)		--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World (cont)				
Svgi Mink		"pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy)	Otter Fish Hawk Kingfisher	--
		"breast aches"	Otter Weasel Leech	--
		"breast aches"	Otter Weasel Kingfisher	--
Tlvdaji Panther/ Mountain Lion		frostbitten feet	--	--
Sihgwa Ujetsdi Opossum		frostbitten feet	Wolf Fox Deer	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Middle World (cont)				
Ahwi Deer		frostbitten feet	Wolf Fox Opossum	--
Agisegwa Mythical Great Female/ Animal God	"shaking" (arms shake and tremble)		--	--
Upper World				
Jisgwa Bird	diarrhea and dysentery in children		--	--
		pain in the side	--	Insect/Worm

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Jisgwa Bird (cont)	"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)		--	Rabbit Hawk Type of Hawk
		earache	--	Black Bug
Udli Swan		intestinal worms	Blue Goose Sandpiper Large Snipe	--
Dagalga Blue Goose		intestinal worms	Swan Sandpiper Large Snipe	--
		gangrene-like sore	--	Insect/Worm

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Suli Buzzard		"yellow of their navel" (indigestion)	Eagle Raven	--
		cut in the flesh	Otter Wolf	--
Kanvjuhwa Fish Hawk/ Osprey		"navel" (indigestion)	Pigeon Kingfisher Goldfinch	--
		"pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy)	Otter Mink Kingfisher	--
Awohalli Eagle		"pain in different places" (shifting pains)	--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Awohalli Eagle (cont)		"yellow of their navel" (indigestion)	Buzzard Raven	--
Digatisgi Rabbit Hawk		"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)	Type of Hawk	Bird
Giyagiya Type of Hawk		"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)	Rabbit Hawk	Bird
Josdowa Killdeer		"yellow" (indigestion)	Minnow	--
		"navel" (indigestion)	--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Josdowa Killdeer (cont)		heartburn	Mouse	--
Ganvsdawa Sandpiper		intestinal worms	Large Snipe Snipe	--
		intestinal worms	Swan Blue Goose Large Snipe	--
Guwisguwi Large Snipe		intestinal worms	Sandpiper Snipe	--
		intestinal worms	Swan Blue Goose Sandpiper	--
Jagosda Snipe		intestinal worms	Sandpiper Large Snipe	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Galvsahyoha Woodcock		sore eyes	Wolf	--
		toothache	--	--
Woyi Pigeon		"navel" (indigestion)	Goldfinch	--
		"navel" (indigestion)	Goldfinch	--
		"navel" (indigestion)	Fish Hawk Kingfisher Goldfinch	--
Wahuhi Screech Owl	"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)		Rabbit Hooting Owl	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Uguku Hooting Owl	"something causing something to eat them" in infants (worms)		Rabbit Screech Owl	--
Jatla Kingfisher		"eaters" (urinary or kidney disease)	--	Frog Yellow-Breasted Chat
		"navel" (indigestion)	Fish Hawk Pigeon Goldfinch	--
		"pains shifting about" (rheumatism or pleurisy)	Otter Mink Fish Hawk	--
		"breast aches"	Otter Weasel Mink	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Kolana Raven		"sick with sharp pains"-- "simulator" disease (witchcraft)	--	--
		"to scratch them" (scratching ceremony for local pains, muscular cramps, and twitching)	--	--
		"yellow of their navel" (indigestion)	Buzzard Eagle	--
		actual snakebite	--	Snake

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Upper World (cont)				
Huhu Yellow-Breasted Chat/Yellow Mockingbird	"eaters" (urinary or kidney disease)		Frog	Kingfisher
Wadaga Goldfinch/ Flaxbird		"navel" (indigestion)	Pigeon	--
		"navel" (indigestion)	Pigeon	--
		"navel" (indigestion)	Fish Hawk Pigeon Kingfisher	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Ambiguities/Anomalies				
Daksi Terrapin	"breast" (abdominal pain from indiges-tion)		--	--
		"crippler" (rheumatism)	Dog	--
	"black yellowness" (severe digestive disorder)		Water Turtle	--
Tsgoya Insect/Worm	pain in the side		--	Bird
	"throat" (diphtheria)		--	Frog
	"insects living in the water" (diphtheria)		--	Redhorse Fish Blue Catfish

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)				
Tsgoya Insect/Worm (cont)	toothache		--	Squirrel
	"swelling" (indigestion)		--	--
	"moving pains in the teeth" (neuralgia?)		--	Spider
	"great chill" (fever)		--	--
	gangrene-like sore		--	Blue Goose
Ujiya Earthworm/ Intestinal Worm	intestinal worms		--	Sandpiper Large Snipe Snipe

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)				
Ujiya Earthworm/ Intestinal Worm (cont)	intestinal worms		--	Swan Blue Goose Sandpiper Large Snipe
Dlanusi Leech		"breast aches"	Otter Weasel Mink	--
Black Bug	earache		--	Bird
Kamama Butterfly		rheumatism	--	--
Wahili Measuring-Worm	"when it breaks them" (rheumatism)		--	--

Table C-5--continued.

Animal Spirit/ Ghost	Causes	Cures	Animal Spirit Collaborator(s)	Animal Spirit Antagonist(s)
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)				
Wasohla Red-Brown Moth/ Tobacco Worm	boil		--	--
Advtawa Type of Moth		"drooping" (sore eyes)	--	--
Kanalnesgi Spider		"moving pains in the teeth" (neuralgia?)	--	Insect/Worm
		sore eyes	--	--

Sources: Butrick n.d.b; Mooney 1891, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Witthoft 1946b.

Table C-6
Animal Spirits in
Cherokee Nonmedicinal Sacred Formulas

Animal Spirit Invoked or Mentioned	Type of Formula	Role of Animal Spirit
Under World		
Julisdanali Blue Catfish	fishing	invoked to ensure success in catching large fish
Saligugi Water Turtle	ball play-- "going to water"	opponents are likened to this slow animal so that players will win
Ujonati Rattlesnake	ball play-- "going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Doya Beaver	miscellaneous-- "going to water"	invoked to avert consequences presaged by bad dreams
Jiya Otter	miscellaneous-- rain ceremony	invoked to bring rain needed for corn
Middle World		
Tinegwa Mole	ball play-- "going to water"	opponents are likened to this slow animal so that players will win
Yona Bear	ball play-- "going to water"	opponents are likened to this slow animal so that players will win
Dila Skunk/Polecat	love	lover's rivals are likened to this loathsome animal

Table C-6--continued.

Animal Spirit Invoked or Mentioned	Type of Formula	Role of Animal Spirit
Middle World (cont)		
Sihgwa Ujetsdi Opossum	love	lover's rivals are likened to this loathsome animal
Ahwi Deer	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Upper World		
Tawodi Hawk	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Sanuwa Mythical Hawk	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Giyagiya Type of hawk	love	invoked to separate lovers
Daluga Yellow-Billed Cuckoo/ Rain Crow	love	lover's rivals are likened to this loathsome animal
Anigosdayi Chimney Swift	love	invoked to win affection of a young maiden
	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Henilu Wood Pewee	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Gulisguli Great Crested Flycatcher	ball play--"going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game

Table C-6--continued.

Animal Spirit Invoked or Mentioned	Type of Formula	Role of Animal Spirit
Upper World (cont)		
Dludlu Purple Martin	ball play-- "going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Dlayhga Blue Jay	love	invoked to win affection of a young maiden
Koga Crow	love	lover's rivals are likened to this loathsome animal
Tojuhwa Redbird	love	invoked to win affection of a young maiden
Ambiguities/Anomalies		
Daksi Terrapin	ball play-- "going to water"	opponents are likened to this slow animal so that players will win
Dlameha Bat	ball play-- "going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Wadaduga Dragonfly	ball play-- "going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game
Kanalnesgi Spider	love	invoked to fix affections of a young wife
	ball play-- "going to water"	invoked to ensure success in game

Table C-6--continued.

Animal Spirit Invoked or Mentioned	Type of Formula	Role of Animal Spirit
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
Sihgwa Pig/Hog	miscellaneous--to lose something	formula for losing a pig/hog

Sources: Mooney 1890b, 1891, 1900a, 1900b; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Payne n.d.; Witthoft 1946b.

Table C-7
Cherokee Animal Dances

Animal	Name of Dance	Type of Dance/ When Performed
Under World		
dusdu 'spring frog'	Knee-Deep (or Spring Frog)	animal rite
inada 'snake'	War (or Snake-Mask)	war rite
doya 'beaver'	Beaver	animal rite
Middle World		
ogana 'groundhog/ woodchuck'	Groundhog	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
yona 'bear'	Bear	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
	Bear	winter rite
kvhli 'raccoon'	Raccoon	animal rite
dila 'skunk/polecat'	Polecat	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
yansa 'buffalo'	Buffalo	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)

Table C-7--continued.

Animal	Name of Dance	Type of Dance/ When Performed
Upper World		
awohalli 'eagle'	Eagle (or Feather)	peace or war rite/ winter rite
tvdasdi 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'	Pheasant	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
gvna 'turkey'	Turkey	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
guhgwe 'quail/partridge/ bobwhite'	Partridge	animal rite
digagwani 'mud-hen/didapper'	Mud-Hen	animal rite
woyi 'pigeon'	Pigeon	animal rite/ Green Corn Festival(s)
	Pigeon	animal rite
Ambiguities/Anomalies		
dosvdalli 'ant'	Pissant	animal rite
jitaga 'chicken'	Chicken	animal rite

Table C-7--continued.

Animal	Name of Dance	Type of Dance/ When Performed
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
sogwili 'horse'	Horse	animal rite

Sources: Corkran 1969; Evans n.d.; Hicks in Swanton 1979; Klinck and Talman 1970; Mooney 1900a; Speck and Broom 1951; Williams 1927.

Table C-8
Cherokee Ritual Uses of Animals

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Under World		
marine mollusc (imported)	shell	wampum for ceremonial dress ornamentation wampum for welcoming, peace, and friendship ceremonies wampum for pipe stem ornamentaion
jisgagili 'red crayfish'	pincer of living animal	scratched on child's hands to provide strong grip
ajaldi 'fish'	bone	scratcher used at certain annual religious festivals
tlvdegwa 'eel'	oil	medicinal treatment for rheumatism and stiff joints
	skin	ball players rubbed themselves to be slippery and hard to hold in game
	skin (dried)	women tied up their hair to make it grow long
kawonu kayvsoli 'pike' (gar)	tooth	scratcher used at certain annual religious festivals
tiyohalli 'lizard'	claw of living animal	individuals scratched claws on their legs so would not encounter snakes that summer

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Under World (cont)		
"sleep" lizard	entire body of living animal	rubbed over infant's head and throat so would always sleep well
inada 'snake'	skin	ornamental covering on pipe stem
selagwoya 'greensnake'	entire body of living animal	individuals bit its body to prevent toothaches and ensure maintenance of sound teeth
ga!legi 'blacksnake'	entire body of living animal	individuals bit its body to prevent toothaches and ensure maintenance of sound teeth hung upon a tree so it would rain within three or four days
ujonati 'rattlesnake'	entire body of living animal	divination by person trained for holy office to determine personal longevity
	meat	consumed by ball players so more terrifying to opponents
	meat (roasted)	hung in household and pieces chewed by family head during epidemic

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Under World (cont)		
ujonati 'rattlesnake' (cont)	tooth	scratcher used in treatment of disease and preparation of ball players for game
	oil	medicinal treatment for rheumatism and sore joints
	rattle	placed in gourds as musical instruments for dances worn on ball players' head so more terrifying to opponents
uktena 'mythical horned snake'	stone on head **Ulunsuti**	divination ("divining crystal")
doya 'beaver'	skin	beaver effigy at Beaver Dance
jiya 'otter'	hrains	medicine for treatment of tuberculosis
	skin	shaman's ritual apparatus for ball play hunter's "shot-pouch" for holding hunting charms crown worn by "King" at inauguration part of dress of **Uku** at Mature Green Corn Feast part of ceremonial dress of great war chief worn around legs of warriors receiving new titles

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World		
jisdu 'rabbit'	hamstring	made into soup, which was strewn along path taken by opponents prior to ball play
	skin	Booger Dance mask ornamentation
	fur	Booger Dance mask ornamentation animal hunting decoy mask ornamentation
ogana 'groundhog/ woodchuck'	living animal	bait for trapping eagle
	skin	head of drum played at dances base and tie strings of terrapin shell leg-rattles worn by women dancers strings for Booger Dance masks headbands worn by ball players in Ball Players' Dance decoy mask used in hunting wild turkeys
	fur	Booger Dance mask ornamentation War (or Snake-Mask) Dance mask ornamentation animal hunting decoy mask ornamentation

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
saloli 'squirrel'	tail	Booger Dance mask ornamentation
	skin	cover of ball used in ball play bowl of ball stick used in ball play
jisdeji daloni 'weasel'	skin	protective covering for "divining crystal," which was worn around great war chief's neck shaman's ritual apparatus for ball play
talsgewi or **nvnogalihwogi** 'shrew/type of field mouse'	carcass (dried and burnt to a coal)	individuals rubbed coal on their eyes so they could see witches, who consequently died
seligsgwa 'muskrat'	fur	animal hunting decoy mask ornamentation
porcupine (imported)	quill	peace pipe stem ornamentation
gihli 'dog'	meat	consumed by warriors at feast prepared by great war chief prior to war expedition
wahya 'wolf'	skin	worn by one of four scouts on war expedition

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
juhla 'fox'	skin	worn by one of four scouts on war expedition
	fur	War (or Snake-Mask) Dance mask ornamentation animal hunting decoy mask ornamentation
yona 'bear'	meat	consumed by family and friends of person afflicted with bad dreams
	paw	worn on warriors' feet during war expedition
	fat	used with fish hawk fat as medicinal drink for treatment of tuberculosis ointment worn by women dancers at Green Corn Festival(s) rubbed over sacrificial fruits of harvest at Green Corn Festival(s) rubbed over poles used in chunkey game ointment worn by warriors receiving new titles

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
yona 'bear' (cont)	skin	Booger Dance mask ornamentation moccasins worn by prisoners condemned to the stake
	fur	bear hunting decoy mask ornamentation
kvhli 'raccoon'	skin	head of war drum
	fur	part of dress of "King" at inauguration
	fur (dyed yellow and red)	crown worn by "King" at inauguration
svgi 'mink'	skin	shaman's ritual apparatus for ball play
dila 'skunk/polecat'	carcass	hung over doorway during smallpox epidemic
	meat	consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics
	scent bag	hung over doorway for immunity from contagious diseases
	fat	individuals rubbed oil over their skin as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
gvhe 'wildcat/bobcat'	fur	bobcat decoy mask ornamentation used in hunting wild turkeys and bobcats
sihgwa ujetsdi 'opossum'	fur	Booger Dance mask ornamentation animal hunting decoy mask ornamentation
	fur (dyed yellow and red)	crown worn by "King"
ahwi 'deer'	meat	consumed by family and friends of person afflicted with bad dreams consummation of a marriage ceremony consumed at annual religious festivals
	tongue	sacrifice and divination
	carcass	bait for hunting eagle sacrifice to eagle spirits
	blood	sprinkled on buck skin at certain divination ceremonies involving the "divining crystal"
	fat	mixed with white clay to form white paint, which was drawn on **Uku** at consecration

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
ahwi 'deer' (cont)	horn (antler)	deer hunting decoy mask ornamentation boiled to form glue used to adhere feathers to warriors' arrow
	sinew	thread to sew together ball used in ball play thread used to fasten together egret feathers on warriors' crown and to tie their victims' scalps on war expeditions
	hoof	used as rattles on terrapin shell leg-rattles worn by women dancers worn around ankles of "King" at inauguration war pipe stem ornamentation
	hair	ball used in ball play peace pipe stem ornamentation
	tail	worn in hair by cleansers in Propitiation/ Cementation Festival and at ceremonies to prevent epidemic diseases "tail" pendant or hair ornament worn by ball players decoy mask ornamentation used in hunting wild turkeys crown worn by **Uku**

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
ahwi 'deer' (cont)	skin	protective covering for "divining crystal" divination ceremonies with "divining crystal" and/or beads base and tie strings of terrapin shell leg-rattles worn by women dancers head of drum played at dances "tails" worn by dancers in Gizzard Dance fee payment to eagle killer and shaman cover of ball used in ball play bowl of ball stick used in ball play bag used by ritual specialist and Beloved Woman for carrying ritual paraphernalia pipe stem ornamentation
	skin (dyed yellow)	dress of **Uku** at consecration and at septennial **Uku** Dance
	skin (whitened with clay)	certain divination ceremonies with "divining crystal" dress of "King" at inauguration seat covers and floor mats for "King" in council house at inauguration official dress of **Uku** and other priests official dress of priests' wives national standard, or flag, during peace

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Middle World (cont)		
ahwi 'deer' (cont)	skin (dyed red)	dress of great war chief at installation moccasins worn by warriors receiving new titles national standard, or flag, during war
yansa 'buffalo'	horn	shaman's sucking horn used in treatment of disease buffalo hunting decoy mask ornamentation war trumpet
	hoof	worn on warriors' feet during war expedition
	skin (dyed red)	dress and armor of warriors
	wool	string worn around women's legs to prevent miscarriage and difficult labor

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World		
jisgwa 'bird'	carcass	sacrificial offering on behalf of a woman after childbirth sacrificial offering as means of ensuring longevity
	breast	sacrificial offering and divination for family in mourning sacrificial offering by hunter for success in chase sacrificial offering by women in meal preparation
	blood	sprinkled on buck skin at certain divination ceremonies involving the "divining crystal"
	wing	held by **Uku** at Green Corn Festival(s) while sacrificing first fruits to the fire
	feather	part of ceremonial dress and ritual paraphernalia pipe stem ornamentation

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
unega gajedali 'white crane/ egret'	thigh bone	war trumpet
	wing	carried by "King" at inauguration Beloved Woman's token of authority waved over caldron containing black drink prepared at Propitiation/ Cementation Festival and prior to war expedition
	feather	used in rain ceremony worn by ball players ornamentation on crown worn by "King" at inauguration ornamentation on crown given to warriors receiving new titles
	down	ornamentation on Beloved Woman's skirt
sasa 'goose'	feather	"tail" pendant or hair ornament worn by swiftest ball player
kawonu 'duck'	quill of feather	part of rattlesnake tooth scratcher used in preparation of ball players for game

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
suli 'buzzard'	carcass	hung over doorway during epidemic
	meat	consumed as a preventive of smallpox during such epidemics
	blood	drunk for temporary immunity from all epidemics
	feather	hung over doorway for immunity from contagious diseases used in ceremony to prevent epidemic diseases
	quill/down of feather	bullet and arrow wound
kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk/ osprey'	fat from throat	used with bear fat as medicinal drink for treatment of tuberculosis
	primary right wing feather	steeped in water, which was used as medicinal drink for treatment of tuberculosis

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
awohalli 'eagle'	feather	ornamentaion on gourd rattles used as musical instruments for Ball Players' Dance "tail" pendant or hair ornament worn by strongest ball player
	feather (dyed red)	worn in hair by great war chief and his councilors and speaker
	tail/wing feather	used in Eagle Dance
	tail feather	fan for **Uku** at consecration and septennial **Uku** Dance welcoming, peace, and friendship ceremonies pipe stem ornamentation
	tail feather (dyed red)	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
	right wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
tawodi 'hawk'	feather	ornamentation on gourd rattles used as musical instruments for Ball Players' Dance "tail" pendant worn by strongest ball player
	quill of feather	part of scratcher used in preparation of ball players for game

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
tawodlegwa 'red-tailed hawk'	tail feather (dyed red)	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
	right wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
digatohnvhida 'marsh/chicken hawk'	right wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
sanuwa 'mythical hawk'	feather (dyed red)	worn by ball players
gigi 'sparrow hawk'	right wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
gvna 'turkey'	meat	consumed at annual religious festivals
	thigh bone	used by shaman to blow medicine on patient in treatment of disease
	wing/leg bone	turkey decoy call part of turkey bone scratcher used in preparation of ball players for game
	cockspur	ornamentation on exterior of warriors' boots and moccasins war pipe stem ornamentation

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
gvna 'turkey' (cont)	gizzard skin	stretched over narrow end of shaman's sucking horn
	feather	fans for "King" at inauguration
	quill of feather	part of turkey bone scratcher used in preparation of ball players for game
owl	skin	worn by one of four scouts on war expedition
	feather	steeped in water, which was used to bathe a child's eyes so would stay awake all night
anigosdayi 'chimney swift'	left wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
dludlu 'purple martin'	feather (dyed red)	worn by ball players
dlayhga 'blue jay'	meat of right breast	sacrificial offering by shaman after curing patient of cramps
	feather	steeped in water, which was used to bathe a child's eyes so would be an early riser

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Upper World (cont)		
kolana 'raven'	skin	worn by great war chief on war expedition
	right wing feather	worn in hair by ball players and warriors
huhu 'yellow-breasted chat/yellow mockingbird'	heart	given to child so would be quick to learn
Ambiguities/Anomalies		
daksi 'terrapin'	limb bones	ball players rubbed bones on their legs prior to game
	shell	medicinal treatment for rheumatism sacrificial offering in praying for warm weather leg-rattles worn by women dancers
dlameha 'bat'	wing	tied to ball play implements
	whisker hairs	tied to ball stick used in ball play
	skin	tied to ball play implements
taladu or **didasdoyesgi** 'cricket'	entire body of living animal	used to make a tea to enhance an individual's singing ability

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
gahlgwogi 'mole cricket'	claw of living animal	scratched upon infant's tongue so would speak well and be intelligent
sehwada 'hornet'	nest	Booger Dance mask
wadulisi 'bee'	honey	medicinal decoction for intestinal worms
jitaga 'chicken'	entire body of newly-hatched animals	hunters placed them in a basket, which was waved over fire to ensure protection from snakes
	carcass	Booger Dance apparatus
	meat	consumed by family and friends of person afflicted with bad dreams
peacock	feather	ceremonial headdress
sogwili 'horse'	living animal	used for betting at ball play games
	skull	Booger Dance apparatus
	hair	bobcat decoy mask ornamentation used in hunting wild turkeys
	tail	worn by Cherokee chiefs as part of ceremonial dress

Table C-8--continued.

Animal	Animal Part	Ritual Use
Ambiguities/Anomalies (cont)		
sihgwa 'pig/hog'	meat	consumed by family and friends of person afflicted with bad dreams
ahwi-unodena 'sheep'	carcass of lamb	Booger Dance apparatus
wahga 'cattle'	horn	shaman's sucking horn used in treatment of disease
	skull	Booger Dance apparatus

Sources: Butrick 1884, n.d.a, n.d.b; Cheves 1894; Corkran 1953, 1956, 1962, 1969; De Baillou 1961; De Vorsey 1971; Evans n.d.; Fyffe 1761; Grant 1909; Hamer 1931; Harper 1958; Hicks in Swanton 1979; Kilpatrick 1966; Kilpatrick and Kilpatrick 1966; Klinck and Talman 1970; McClary 1962; McDowell 1958, 1970; Mereness 1916; Mooney 1890b, 1891, 1900a; Mooney and Olbrechts 1932; Payne n.d.; Public Record Office 1730; Speck and Broom 1951; Tucker 1969; Williams 1927, 1928, 1930; Witthoft 1946b.

APPENDIX D
CHEROKEE FOLK TERMINAL TAXA VIS-A-VIS WESTERN SCIENTIFIC SPECIES

Table D-1
Distribution (Qualitative) of
Cherokee Folk Terminal Taxa (n=185)
(by Major Cherokee Grouping)
According to Kind of Correspondence
With Western Scientific Species

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms				
tsgoya 'insect/ worm'	**taladu** 'cricket' **gahlgwogi** 'mole cricket' **lolo** 'cicada/ jar-fly' **vle** 'locust' **digsi** **digasagwale-hlidohi** 'tumblebug' **dalsguwa** 'snapping beetle' **wasohla** 'red-brown moth/ tobacco worm'		**elagwa** 'snail' **dlanusi** 'leech' **juganoji** 'centipede' **wadaduga** 'dragonfly' **tolatsga** 'grasshopper' **sigigi** 'katydid' **tina** 'louse' **galuysdi** 'bed bug' **doyunisi** 'water beetle/ mellow bug'	**daga** 'June-bug' **daliyodaga** 'grubworm'

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
tsgoya 'insect/worm' (cont)	**jasgayli** 'yellow-jacket' **sehwada** 'hornet' **wadulisi** 'bee'			**ahwi** 'large horned beetle' **kamama** 'butterfly' **wahili** 'measuring-worm' **tvhga** 'fly' **dosa** 'gnat' **dosa utana** 'mosquito' **damaga** 'horse fly' **chuhga** 'flea' **dosvdalli** 'ant' **kanajisdeji** 'wasp' **wadulisi utana** 'bumble bee' **gugu** 'tick'

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
aja!di 'fish'	**kawonu** 'pike'	**oliga** 'redhorse fish'	**amakta** 'minnow'	
	kayvsoli	**unoga** 'trout/bass'	**gasadi** 'drumfish/ buffalo fish'	
	adaja 'mountain/ speckled trout'	**dugalv!na** 'type of small fish'		
	ugvsde!li 'hornyhead fish'	**jiliya** 'jackfish'		
	daloge 'hog sucker'	**jisgwalvna** 'mallethead/ mumblehead fish'		
	oligiyusdi 'white sucker'			
	julisdanali 'blue catfish'			
	usgwohli egwa 'mud catfish/ bullhead/ horned pout'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
inada 'snake'	**kanegwodi** 'water snake/ water moccasin' **odalaktiyi** 'garter/garden snake' **daliksda** 'spreading adder' **uksuhti** 'black racer/ mountain blacksnake' **selagwoya** 'greensnake' **gallegi** 'blacksnake' **inada sgolvge** 'bullsnake' **wodige askoli** 'copperhead snake' **ujonati** 'rattlesnake'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird'	**gajedali** 'crane/blue crane/ heron'	**digatohnvhida** 'marsh/ chicken hawk'	**kawonu** 'duck'	
	unega gajedali 'white crane/ egret'	**jisgwenuji** 'downy/hairy woodpecker'	**awohalli** 'eagle'	
	udli 'swan'	**duweyela** 'nuthatch'	**digagwani** 'mud-hen/ didapper'	
	sasa 'goose'	**wolida** 'oriole'	**ganvsdawa** 'sandpiper'	
	dagalga 'blue goose'		**woyi** 'pigeon'	
	suli 'buzzard'		**jisgwaya** 'sparrow'	
	kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk/ osprey'		**tsgwilisda** 'blackbird'	
	juwoduhi **jugidahli** 'golden eagle'			
	tawodlegwa 'red-tailed hawk'			
	digatisgi 'rabbit hawk'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird' (cont)	**sanuwa usdi** 'pigeon hawk' **gigi** 'sparrow hawk' **jitaga** 'chicken' **tvdasdi** 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse' **gvna** 'turkey' **guhgwe** 'quail/ partridge/ bobwhite' **josdowa** 'killdeer' **guwisguwi** 'large snipe' **jagosda** 'snipe' **galvsahyoha** 'woodcock'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird' (cont)	**gule**			
	disgohnihi 'mourning dove/turtle dove'			
	daluga 'yellow-billed cuckoo/rain crow'			
	wahuhi 'screech owl'			
	tsgili 'great horned owl'			
	uguku 'hooting owl'			
	galsdoga 'nighthawk/ bullbat'			
	waguli 'whip-poor-will'			
	anigosdayi 'chimney swift'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird' (cont)	**walela** 'hummingbird' **jatla** 'kingfisher' **dalala** 'red-headed woodpecker' **julilena** 'yellow-bellied sapsucker' **unegada** 'yellowhammer' **gvgwoga** 'pileated woodpecker/ wood hen' **henilu** 'wood pewee' **tsgoyalaktosdi** 'least flycatcher' **gulisguli** 'great crested flycatcher'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird' (cont)	**judigwanujugi** 'scissor-tailed flycatcher' **dludlu** 'purple martin' **dlayhga** 'blue jay' **koga** 'crow' **kolana** 'raven' **jigilili** 'chickadee/tomtit' **ujugi** 'tufted titmouse' **jiji** 'winter wren' **jagwolide** 'bluebird' **kawoga** 'wood thrush'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Life Forms (cont)				
jisgwa 'bird' (cont)	**jisgwogwo** 'robin' **ujima** 'catbird' **wadahyeli** 'brown thrasher' **huhu** 'yellow-breasted chat/yellow mockingbird' **tojuhwa** 'redbird' **jawisga** 'towhee' **wogvda** 'fox sparrow' **tuti** 'snowbird' **nokwsi** 'meadowlark' **wadaga** 'goldfinch/flaxbird'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Life Forms (cont)				
nvhgi-dikanasa!dv 'mammal'	**jisdu** 'rabbit' **kiyuga** 'ground squirrel/ chipmunk' **ogana** 'groundhog/ woodchuck' **saloli** 'gray squirrel' **saloli wodi** 'fox squirrel' **doya** 'beaver' **jisdeji usdi** 'house mouse' **jisdeji daloni** 'weasel' **jisdeji utana** 'house rat' **kanikwsa** 'black rat'		**tinegwa** 'mole' **jisdeji dlogesehi** 'field mouse/ rat' **jisdeji inagehi** 'wood mouse/ rat' **talsgewi** 'shrew/type of field mouse' **dila** 'skunk/ polecat'	

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Life Forms (cont)				
nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal' (cont)	**seligsgwa** 'muskrat' **gihli** 'dog' **wahya** 'wolf' **juhla** 'gray fox' **juhla wodige** 'red fox' **yona** 'bear' **kvhli** 'raccoon' **svgi** 'mink' **jiya** 'otter' **tlvdaji** 'panther/ mountain lion' **wesa** 'cat'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Life Forms (cont)				
nvhgi-dikanasaldv 'mammal' (cont)	**gvhe** 'wildcat/bobcat' **sogwili** 'horse' **sihgwa** 'pig/hog' **sihgwa ujetsdi** 'opossum' **ahwi** 'deer' **ahwi egwa** 'elk' **ahwi-ahanulvhi** 'goat' **ahwi-unodena** 'sheep' **yansa** 'buffalo' **wahga** 'cattle'			

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Ambiguously Affiliated				
(bat/flying squirrel)		**tewa** 'flying squirrel'	**dlameha** 'bat'	
Unaffiliated				
(crayfish)			**jisdvna** 'crayfish' **jisgagili** 'red crayfish'	

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Unaffiliated (cont)				
(toad/frog)	**uwesgi** 'June frog' **dusdu** 'spring frog' **dala** 'treefrog/ tree toad' **kanuna** 'bullfrog' **tehga** 'frog' **gwalga** 'type of frog'	**walosi** 'toad'		

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	Differentiation
Unaffiliated (cont)				
(salamander/ lizard)	**juwa** 'water dog/ mud puppy' **duweka** 'spring lizard' **wajili** 'chameleon' **tiyohalli** 'lizard' **jonena** 'scorpion lizard' **giga-juholi** 'bloody-mouth lizard'	**dagahnda** 'rainmaker lizard'		
(turtle)	**daksi** 'terrapin' **ulanawa** 'softshell turtle'		**saligugi** 'water turtle'	

Table D-1--continued.

Major Cherokee Grouping	Kind of Correspondence			
		Lesser Differentiation		Greater Differentiation
	One-to-One	Type 1	Type 2	
Unaffiliated (cont)				
Generic Isolates		**kanaʔnesgi amayehi** 'water spider'	**ujiya** 'earthworm/ intestinal worm' **kanaʔnesgi** 'spider' **dagvna** 'mussel'	

APPENDIX E
CHEROKEE ANIMAL NOMENCLATURE, CLASSIFICATIONS, AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Table E-1
Summary of Cherokee Animal Nomenclature,
Classifications, and Cultural Significance

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon[a]	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual[c] Number of: Secular[b]	Belief/Use	Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders								
ujiya 'earthworm/intestinal worm'	IN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / 3 / --	3
elagwa 'snail'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
dlanusi 'leech'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / 1 / --	2
juganoji 'centipede'	IN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
wadaduga 'dragonfly'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1
ganvnowa 'type of dragonfly'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
tolatsga 'grasshopper'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
sigigi 'katydid'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	2 / -- / --	3

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders (cont)								
taladu 'cricket'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	2 / -- / --	3
gahlgwogi 'mole cricket'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	1
tina 'louse'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
galuysdi 'bed bug'	DN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
lolo 'cicada/jar-fly'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
vle 'locust'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / --	-- / -- / --	2
doyunisi 'water beetle/mellow bug'	CT	UPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
ahwi 'large horned beetle'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology: Secular	Ritual: Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Formulas/Myths/Dances	Total
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders (cont)								
digsi digasagwale-hlidohi 'tumblebug'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
daga 'June-bug'	UN	SPL	S	GD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
daliyodaga 'grubworm'	CT	SL	S	GD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
dalsguwa 'snapping beetle'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
kamama 'butterfly'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1
wahili 'measuring-worm'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1
wasohla 'red-brown moth/tobacco worm'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / 1 / --	2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Rit-ual Belief/Use	Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders (cont)									
advtawa 'type of moth'	DN	SPL	G	--	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --		1
tvhga 'fly'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1
dosa 'gnat'	UN	SPL	S	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1
dosa utana 'mosquito'	CT	SL	S	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1
damaga 'horse fly'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
chuhga 'flea'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
dosvdalli 'ant'	UN	SPL	S	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / 1		1
dosvdalli adajvysgi 'cow-ant'	CT	SL	S	--	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
kanajisdeji 'wasp'	UDN	PL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Invertebrates--Insects/worms/spiders (cont)									
jasgayli 'yellow-jacket'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	2	--	--	3
ulaga 'mythical great insect/great yellow-jacket'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	--	--	1	1
sehwada 'hornet'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	--	1	--	1
wadulisi 'bee'	UN	SPL	S	OTO	3	2	1	--	6
wadulisi utana 'bumble bee'	CT	SL	S	LD	--	--	--	--	0
gugu 'tick'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	--	--	--	0
kanalnesgi 'spider'	DN	SPL	S	LD	--	--	--	4	4
kanalnesgi amayehi 'water spider'	CT	SL	S	LD	--	--	--	2	2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Secular	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Ideology and Ritual: Ritual Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Invertebrates-- "Fish" invertebrates								
dagvna 'mussel'	UN	SPL	S	LD	1	-- / --	-- / -- / --	1
dagvna utana 'oyster'	CT	SL	S	--	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
jisdvna 'crayfish'	UN	SPL	G	LD	1	1 / --	1 / -- / --	3
jisgagili 'red crayfish'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / 1	1 / -- / --	3
Fish								
tlvdegwa 'eel'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	1 / 3	-- / -- / --	4
kawonu kayvsoli 'pike'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 1	-- / -- / --	2
adaja 'mountain/ speckled trout'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	2 / --	-- / -- / --	3

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Fish (cont)									
amakta 'minnow'	CT	UPL	G	LD	1	-- / --	-- / 1 / --		2
ugvsdelli 'hornyhead fish'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	1	3 / --	-- / -- / --		4
daloge 'hog sucker'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / --	-- / -- / --		2
oliga 'redhorse fish'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / 1 / --		2
oligiyusdi 'white sucker'	DN	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
julisdanali 'blue catfish'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / 2 / --		3
usgwohli egwa 'mud catfish/ bullhead/ horned pout'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1
agola 'sun perch'	IN	SPL	G	--	1	1 / --	-- / -- / --		2
unoga 'trout/bass'	UN	SPL	G	LD	1	-- / --	-- / -- / --		1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Fish (cont)								
dugalvlna 'type of small fish'	IN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
jiliya 'jackfish'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
gasadi 'drumfish/buffalo fish'	UN	SPL	G	LD	1	1 / --	-- / -- / --	2
jisgwalvna 'mallethead/mumblehead fish'	DN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
ajadiya 'salmon'	DN	PPL	G	--	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
dagwa 'mythical fish/whale'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Herpetofauna--Toads/frogs									
walosi 'toad'	UN	SPL	G	LD	1	1 / --	1 / --	/ --	3
uwesgi 'June frog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / --	/ --	0
dusdu 'spring frog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	-- / --	-- / --	/ 1	2
dala 'treefrog/tree toad'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / --	/ --	0
kanuna 'bullfrog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	2 / --	/ --	2
tehga 'frog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 2	/ --	2
gwalga 'type of frog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / --	-- / --	/ --	2
digiji 'tadpole'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	-- / --	1 / --	/ --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Herpetofauna--Salamanders/lizards								
juwa 'water dog/mud puppy'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / --	-- / -- / --	2
duweka 'spring lizard'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	1	2 / --	-- / -- / --	3
dagahnda 'rainmaker lizard'	DN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
wajili 'chameleon'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
tiyohalli 'lizard'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	-- / 1 / --	2
jonena 'scorpion lizard'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	2 / --	-- / -- / --	2
giga-juholi 'bloody-mouth lizard'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	2 / --	-- / -- / --	2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Secular	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Ritual: Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Herpetofauna--Turtles								
saligugi 'water turtle'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / 2 / --	3
daksi 'terrapin'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- 4	9 / 4 / --	17
ulanawa 'softshell turtle'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
Herpetofauna--Snakes								
kanegwodi 'water snake/water moccasin'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / 1 / --	2
odalaktiyi 'garter/garden snake'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
daliksda 'spreading adder'	DN	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / 1 / --	2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Number of: Secular	Belief/Ritual Use	For-Myths/mulas/Dances	Total
Herpetofauna--Snakes (cont)								
uksuhti 'black racer/mountain blacksnake'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	2 / -- / --	2
selagwoya 'greensnake'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	1
gallegi 'blacksnake'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 2	2 / -- / --	4
inada sgolvge 'bullsnake'	CT	PPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- -- / --	0
wodige askoli 'copperhead snake'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / -- / --	2
ujonati 'rattlesnake'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 7	2 / 4 / --	14
uktena 'mythical horned snake'	CT	UPL	G	--	--	2 / 1	5 / -- / --	8

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Secular	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Ritual Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Herpetofauna--Snakes (cont)									
uw!jvda 'mythical bouncer snake'	UDN	PL	G	--	--	-- / --	1 / --	/ --	1
usdadli 'mythical foot snake/fawn imitator'/ 'southern hoop-snake'	UDN	PL	G	--	--	-- / --	1 / 1	/ --	2
Herpetofauna--Alligator									
julasgi 'alligator'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	-- / --	-- / --	/ --	0

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Birds								
gajedali 'crane/blue crane/heron'	UDN	PL	S	OTO	1	1 / --	2 / -- / --	4
unega gajedali 'white crane/egret'	CT	SL	S	OTO	--	-- / 9	-- / -- / --	9
udli 'swan'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1
sasa 'goose'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	2
dagalga 'blue goose'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / 2 / --	3
kawonu 'duck'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	1
suli 'buzzard'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 6	4 / 2 / --	13
kanvjuhwa 'fish hawk/osprey'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	1 / 2	1 / 2 / --	6
awohalli 'eagle'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	7 / 8	4 / 2 / 1	22

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Ritual Belief/Use	Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Birds (cont)									
juwoduhi jugidahli 'golden' eagle'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / --	/ --	1
tawodlegwa 'red-tailed hawk'	CT	PPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 2	-- / --	/ --	3
digatohnvhida 'marsh/chicken hawk'	CT	UPL	G	LD	--	1 / 1	-- / --	/ --	2
digatisgi 'rabbit hawk'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / 1	/ --	2
sanuwa 'mythical hawk'	UN	SPL	S	--	--	-- / 1	4 / 1	/ --	6
sanuwa usdi 'pigeon hawk'	CT	SL	S	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / --	/ --	2
gigi 'sparrow hawk'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 1	-- / --	/ --	2
giyagiya 'type of hawk'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	1 / --	-- / 2	/ --	3

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Ritual/Use	Number of Formulas/Myths/Dances	Total
Birds (cont)								
jitaga 'chicken'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	4	4 / 3	-- / -- / 1	12
tvdasdi 'pheasant/ ruffed grouse'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	1	3 / --	2 / -- / 1	7
gvna 'turkey'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	9	1 / 8	5 / -- / 1	24
guhgwe 'quail/ partridge/ bobwhite'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	-- / --	1 / -- / 1	3
digagwani 'mud-hen/ didapper'	DN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / 1	1
josdowa 'killdeer'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 3 / --	3
ganvsdawa 'sandpiper'	CT	UPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / 2 / --	2
guwisguwi 'large snipe'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 2 / --	2
jagosda 'snipe'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Birds (cont)									
galvsahyoha 'woodcock'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / 2 / --		3
woyi 'pigeon'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / 3 / 1		5
gule disgohnihi 'mourning dove/turtle dove'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
daluga 'yellow-billed cuckoo/ rain crow'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --		1
wahuhi 'screech owl'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	4 / --	1 / 1 / --		6
tsgili 'great horned owl'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / -- / --		2
uguku 'hooting owl'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	2 / 1 / --		4
galsdoga 'nighthawk/ bullbat'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --		1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Secular	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Birds (cont)								
waguli 'whip-poor-will'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	3 / --	-- / -- / --	3
anigosdayi 'chimney swift'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	-- / 2 / --	3
walela 'hummingbird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	2 / -- / --	2
jatla 'kingfisher'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / 4 / --	6
dalala 'red-headed woodpecker'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / 1	1
jullena 'yellow-bellied sapsucker'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
jisgwenuji 'downy/hairy woodpecker'	CT	PPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
unegada 'yellowhammer'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual	Number of Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Birds (cont)										
gvgwoga 'pileated woodpecker/ wood hen'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	--	--	1	--	1
jaja 'type of woodpecker'	UN	SPL	G	--	--	--	--	--	--	0
henilu 'wood pewee'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	--	--	--	1	1
tsgoyalaktosdi 'least flycatcher'	CT	UPL	G	OTO	--	--	--	--	--	0
gulisguli 'great crested flycatcher'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	--	--	--	1	1
judigwanujugi 'scissor-tailed flycatcher'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	1	--	--	--	1
dludlu 'purple martin'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	--	1	1	1	3

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Birds (cont)								
dlayhga 'blue jay'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 2	-- / 1 / --	3
koga 'crow'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / 1 / --	3
kolana 'raven'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / 2	1 / 4 / --	8
jigilili 'chickadee/ tomtit'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	4 / --	1 / -- / --	5
ujugi 'tufted titmouse'	UDN	PL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / -- / --	2
duweyela 'nuthatch'	UDN	PL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
jiji 'winter wren'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	1 / -- / --	2
jagwolide 'bluebird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
kawoga 'wood thrush'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
jisgwogwo 'robin'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of For-Myths/mulas/Dances	Total
Birds (cont)								
ujima 'catbird'	IN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
wadahyeli 'brown thrasher'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
huhu 'yellow-breasted chat/yellow mockingbird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	1 / 1 / --	3
tojuhwa 'redbird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / --	2 / 1 / --	5
jawisga 'towhee'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
jisgwaya 'sparrow'	DN	PPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
wogvda 'fox sparrow'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
tutl 'snowbird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
tsgwilisda 'blackbird'	UDN	PL	G	LD	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Number of: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual Formulas/Dances	Myths	Total
Birds (cont)									
nokwsi 'meadowlark'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --		1
wolida 'oriole'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --		0
wadaga 'goldfinch/ flaxbird'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / 3 / --		3
Mammals									
tinegwa 'mole'	CT	UPL	G	LD	--	2 / --	3 / 1 / --		6
dlameha 'bat'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / 3	1 / 1 / --		6
jisdu 'rabbit'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	4 / 4	19 / 3 / --		31
kiyuga 'ground squirrel/ chipmunk'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / --	2 / -- / --		2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Ritual/Use	Number of Formulas/Dances	Total
Mammals (cont)								
ogana 'groundhog/woodchuck'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	2	-- / 9	1 / -- / 1	13
saloli 'gray squirrel'	UN	SPL	S	OTO	1	4 / 3	-- / 1 / --	9
saloli wodi 'fox squirrel'	CT	SL	S	OTO	--	-- / --	-- / -- / --	0
tewa 'flying squirrel'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
doya 'beaver'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	3	-- / 1	1 / 2 / 1	8
jisdeji dlogesehi 'field mouse/rat'	CT	PPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
jisdeji inagehi 'wood mouse/rat'	CT	PPL	G	LD	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Mammals (cont)								
jisdeji usdi 'house mouse'	CT	PPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
jisdeji daloni 'weasel'	CT	PPL	G	OTO	1	-- / 2	-- / 3 / --	6
jisdeji utana 'house rat'	CT	PPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
kanikwsa 'black rat'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1
talsgewi 'shrew/type of field mouse'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	1
seligsgwa 'muskrat'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	1
gihli 'dog'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	6 / 1	3 / 5 / --	16
wahya 'wolf'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	2 / 1	10 / 5 / --	18
juhla 'gray fox'	UN	SPL	S	OTO	--	3 / 3	3 / 1 / --	10
juhla wodige 'red fox'	CT	SL	S	OTO	--	1 / --	-- / -- / --	1

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Ideology and Ritual: Secular	Belief/Ritual/Use	Number of Formulas/Myths/Dances	Total
Mammals (cont)								
yona 'bear'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	12	-- / 11	8 / 1 / 2	34
galos-ganvhida 'mythical bear'	CT	UPL	G	--	--	-- / --	1 / -- / --	1
kvhli 'raccoon'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	1	1 / 3	1 / 2 / 1	9
svgi 'mink'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	1	-- / 1	1 / 3 / --	6
dila 'skunk/polecat'	UN	SPL	G	LD	--	1 / 4	2 / 1 / 1	9
jiya 'otter'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	3	-- / 7	2 / 8 / --	20
tlvdaji 'panther/mountain lion'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	3	1 / --	3 / 1 / --	8
wesa 'cat'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	2 / --	-- / -- / --	2

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score: Secular	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Ritual: Number of Formulas/Dances	Total
Mammals (cont)								
gvhe 'wildcat/bobcat'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	--	-- / 1	2 / -- / --	3
sogwili 'horse'	DN	SPL	G	OTO	5	1 / 4	-- / -- / 1	11
sihgwa 'pig/hog'	UN	SPL	S	OTO	2	-- / 1	-- / 1 / --	4
sihgwa ujetsdi 'opossum'	CT	SL	S	OTO	2	1 / 3	3 / 2 / --	11
ahwi 'deer'	UN	SPL	S	OTO	14	2 / 40	7 / 2 / --	65
ahwi egwa 'elk'	CT	SL	S	OTO	3	-- / --	1 / -- / --	4
ahwi-ahanulvhi 'goat'	CT	SL	S	OTO	1	-- / --	-- / -- / --	1
ahwi-unodena 'sheep'	CT	SL	S	OTO	1	-- / 1	-- / -- / --	2
yansa 'buffalo'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	10	1 / 7	1 / -- / 1	20

Table E-1--continued.

Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon	Noun Category	Lexeme Type	Folk Biological Category	Folk/Science Correspondence	Cultural Significance: Behavior/Attitude Response Score	Ideology and Ritual: Belief/Use	Number of Myths/Formulas/Dances	Total
Mammals (cont)								
wahga 'cattle'	UN	SPL	G	OTO	6	1 / 2	1 / -- / --	10
agísegwa 'mythical Great Female/ animal god'	CT	UPL	G	--	--	-- / --	-- / 1 / --	1

[a]Cherokee Animal Terminal Taxon--Cherokee terminal taxa (n=204) are ordered and grouped here according to major western taxonomic divisions and thus follow the arrangement presented in Chapter 4.

[b]Secular--Secular refers to all uses of an animal relating to daily life, including food, clothing, and all other nonritual uses. See Chapter 5 and Appendix B.

[c]Ideology and Ritual--

Beliefs include food taboos as well as dreams, omens, and miscellaneous beliefs. See Chapter 6 and Appendix C (Tables C-3 and C-4).

Ritual Use refers to all ritual uses of an animal. See Chapter 6 and Appendix C (Table C-8).

Myths enumerate the number of myths in which an animal serves as a major actor. See Chapter 6 and Appendix C (Table C-1).

Formulas enumerate the number of sacred formulas in which an animal plays an important role. See Chapter 6 and Appendix C (Tables C-5 and C-6).

Dances enumerate the number of dances in which an animal is mimicked. See Chapter 6 and Appendix C (Table C-7).

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arlene Fradkin was born on July 1st, 1951, in New York City, where she resided until the age of 18. She was very fond of music and theater and had taken piano and theory lessons at the Julliard School of Music Preparatory Division for a number of years. Her interests, however, diverged when she began attending the Bronx High School of Science in September 1966. After her graduation in June 1969, she gained admittance to the State University of New York at Albany where she received her Bachelor of Arts degree in anthropology in May 1973. In September 1974, she was admitted to the graduate program in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida and obtained her Master of Arts degree in June 1976 with an emphasis in archaeology. The following year, she decided to continue her graduate studies and entered the doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Florida, specializing in zooarchaeology and folk semantics. During her graduate school career, she has held several research and teaching assistantships and has worked as an intern for the National Marine Fisheries Service in Washington, D.C.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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